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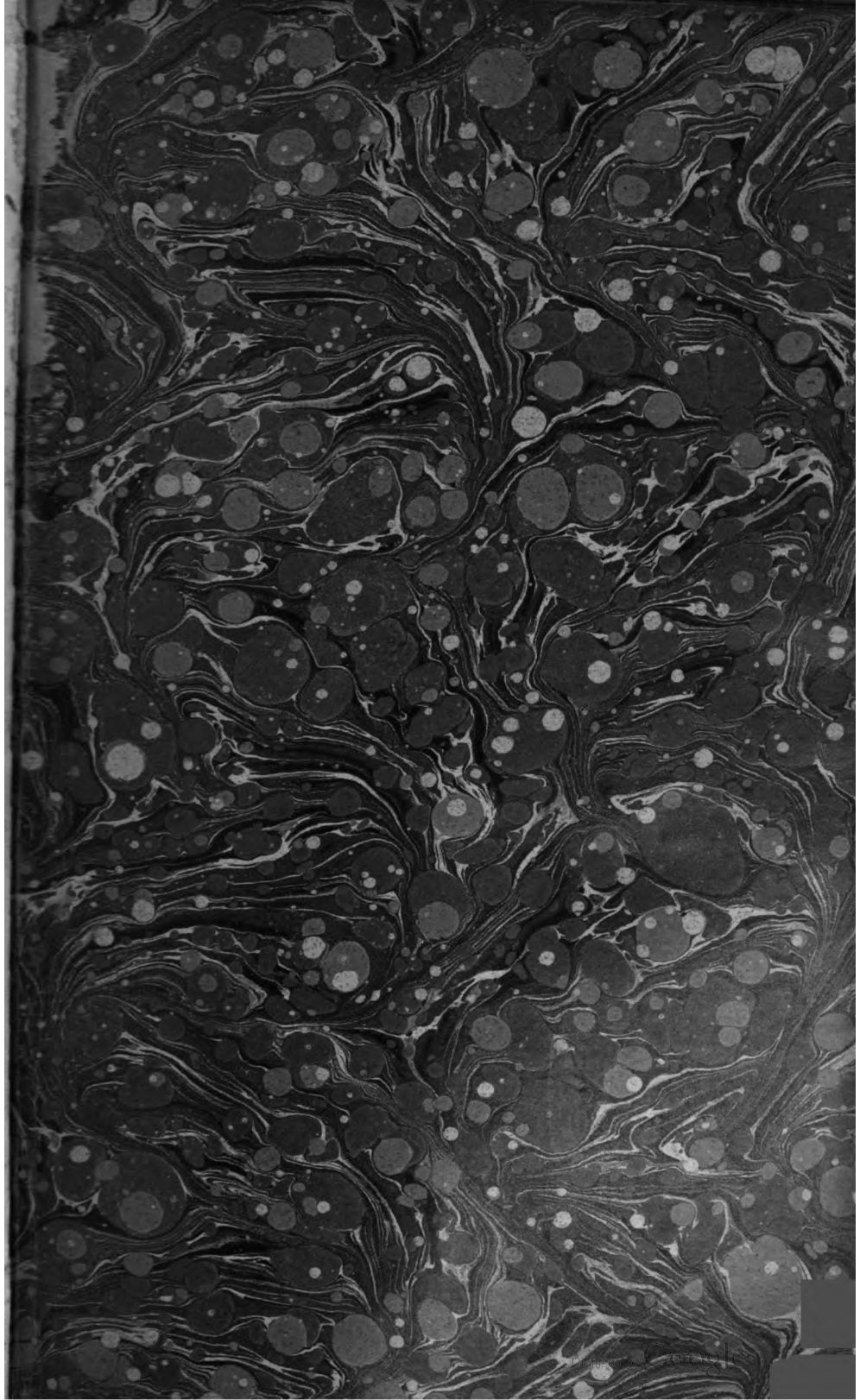

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THE WORKS

OF

JOHN KNOX;

COLLECTED AND EDITED

BY DAVID LAING.

VOLUME FIFTH.

EDINBURGH:
PRINTED FOR THE BANNATYNE CLUB.
MDCCCLVI.

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Ad Scotos transeuntibus Primus occurrit Magnus ille JOANNES CNOXUS; quem si Scotorum in vero Dei cultu instaurando, velut Apostolum quendam dixero, dixisse me quod res est existimabo.

THEOD. BEZA.

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A LETTER

TO JOHN FOXE, AT BASEL.

M.D.LVIII.

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A LETTER

TO JOHN FOXE, AT BASEL.

M.D.LVIII.

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THE author having sent a copy of his "First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regimen of Women," to John Foxe the martyrologist, then residing at Basel, received a letter in reply, which we regret has not been preserved. But from Knox's answer, here printed, it appears that he had expostulated with him in a friendly manner, both as to the impropriety of the publication, and the severity of its language. Knox, it will be seen, admits his "rude vehemencie and inconsidered affirmations," yet without retracting the principal proposition which he had maintained. The original letter is preserved among Foxe's papers in the British Museum,[1] and an accurate facsimile of it is annexed. It is, with the exception of the signature, as the letter itself intimates, in the handwriting of Mrs Knox.

It will afterwards appear, from his letters in 1559, that his anticipations of the unwelcome reception of the First Blast in England were fully realised. Dr Lesley, Bishop of Ross, in his Diary while a prisoner in England in 1571, writes, on the 21st of August, "Conference with the Bishop of Ely, anent the government of Commone weillis: *He dispyittis John Knox* and Goodman, with the band, *for the wreittin aganes the Regiment of Wemen*, and otheris their singular opinions, and holdis them Puritans."[2] The Bishop of Ely at this period was Dr Cox, who took such a conspicuous part in the disputes at Frankfurt, in 1554. On the other hand, Calderwood, in mentioning Knox's First Blast, says, "The raigne of Queen Marie in England, and the regiment of Marie of Lorane in Scotland, two wicked women, provoked him to set furth this treatise.

[1] Harleian MSS. 416, No. 34, § 70.

[2] The Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. iii. p. 143.

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In it he sheweth his erudition and variety of reading more than in any other of his treatises."[1]

We have already seen that Knox relinquished his intention of writing and publishing a Second and Third Blast on the same subject. It may be added, that the heads of the Second Blast, as contained in the previous volume, at page 539, were included, with a running comment, in a small volume of considerable rarity, entitled, "A lerned Epistle of M. Iohn Fraser, Bachler of Divinitie, to the Ministers of Great Britanie: Wherin he sheweth that no man ought to subscribe to their Confession of Faith; and that their presumed authorite to excommunicate anie man, especially Catholiques, is vaine and foolish.—Permissu Superiorum, 1605," 12mo. He introduces it thus: "At leist, Knox your Prophet's words may serve for witnes of your upright intentions: Ye shall have the argument of the Second Blast of the Trompette, written and sett out by himselfe, 1558, at your holie citie of Geneva, foster-mother of all seditious spirites and unquyet heads. Heare, then, your good Apostle: '*Because many are offended at the First Blast*,' &c."[2] He concludes, "Yet good Sire John Knox, being in his owne opinion a prophet, could not have wanted many texts of the Scripture to prove the matter."[3]

Fraser's remarks are of no moment; but like all the Popish writers of that period, he refers[4] to the fact of Knox having been in Priests' Orders.

[1] Calderwood's History, vol. i. p. 411, vol. viii. p. 156.
[2] Epistle, &c., p. 14.
[3] Ib. p. 16.
[4] Ib. p. 88.

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Fac-simile of a Letter from John Knox (written by his Wife) to Mr Foxe.

(Brit. Mus. Harl. Mss. 416 p. 70.)

The mightie confort of the holie ghost
for salutation

Dearlie beloved brother albeit at the departure of this our brother from whom I receaved yor loving and frendlie lre, my selve could writ nothinge be reason of the euill dispositioun of my bodie, yit becaus I could not suffer him to depart without som remembrance of my dewtie to you. I used the help of my left hand that is of my wief in scribling these fewe lynes unto you. as touching my purpose and mynd in the publishing the first blast of the trompet. When the secreates of all harts shalbe disclosed, that shalbe knov...

At Basill Basill

J. Netherclift lith.

A LETTER ADDRESSED TO JOHN FOXE AT BASEL.

The mightie conforth of the Holie Ghost for salutation.

DEARLIE BELOVED BROTHER,

Albeit at the departure of this our brother, from whom I receaved your loving and frendlie letter, my selve could writ nothinge be reason of the evill disposition of my bodie, yit becaus I could not suffer him to depart without som remembrance of my deutie to you, I used the help of my left hand, that is of my Wief, in scribbling these fewe lynes unto you.

As touching my purpose and mynd in the publishing the First Blast of the Trompet, when the secreates of all hartes shalbe disclosed, that shalbe knowen which now by manye can not be perswaded, to wit, that therin I nether have sought my selve, nether yit the vain prase of men. My rude vehemencie and inconsidered affirmations, which may appear rather to procead from coler then of zeal and reason, I do not excuse; but to have used anye other tytle mor plausible, therby to have allured the world by any art, as I never purposed, so do I not yet purpose: to me it is yneugh to say that black is not whit, and man's tyrannye and foolishnes is not Goddes perfite ordinance; which thinge I do, not so much to correct common welthes as to delyver my own conscience, and to instruct the consciences of som semple, who yit I fear be ignorant in that matter: but ferther of this I delay to better opportunytie.

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Salut your Wief and dowghter hartlie in my nam. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ rest with you now and ever.

From Geneva, the 18 of May 1558.

Your Brother to power,

JOHNE KNOX.

I, your Sister, the writer hereof, saluteth you and your Wief most hartlie, thanking hir of hir loving tokens which my Mother and I received from Mrs Kent.

TO HIS LOUINGE BROTHER, MASTER FOX,
BE THESE DELYUERED AT BASILL.

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AN ANSWER

TO THE CAVILLATIONS OF AN ADVERSARY RESPECTING THE DOCTRINE OF PREDESTINATION.

M.D.LX.

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THE following work, although the most elaborate production of the Scottish Reformer, is one that requires no lengthened introduction. It may, however, be desirable to inquire into the origin and state of the controversy which induced Knox to devote so much time and labour in his Answer to an anonymous "Adversary of God's Truth." The early study of the writings of St Augustin, the most formidable antagonist of the Pelagian heresy, may have prepared him for defending more keenly the orthodox sentiments on this subject.

The doctrine of Predestination formed a branch of the great Pelagian controversy, relating to the extent of divine grace and its interference with human liberty, which took its rise during the fifth century. Among the early Fathers of the Church, various sentiments were entertained respecting the origin of sin and man's moral freedom. The learned and valuable work of Hagenbach, the "History of Doctrines," enables me to give a summary of the disputes on this head which continued to agitate the Christian Church. Augustin himself, in his earlier writings, defended human freedom in opposition to the Manichæans, who maintained that evil was inherent in matter. The views by which Celestius and Pelagius, towards the commencement of the fifth century, were induced to deny the natural depravity of man, and to regard every human being as a moral agent, and sin as the free act of the individual, were condemned by the Council of Carthage, A.D. 418. Such views were directly opposed both to the doctrine of Scripture, especially that of Paul, and the general belief of the Church, and thus subversive of the fundamental doctrines of the gospel. "It is, however, difficult to decide how far the

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views of Pelagius accorded with these assertions, since he expressed himself very cautiously. But it is certain, that what is commonly called *Pelagianism* does not so much represent single notions of a single individual, as a complete *moral and religious system*, which formed a decided contrast to *Augustinism*."[1] The chief opponent of such views was Augustin, who "held the doctrine of hereditary depravity, the guilt of which man has himself incurred, and from which no human power nor human volition can deliver, but those alone will be saved to whom the grace of God is imparted. From these premises it would necessarily follow, that God, in consequence of an eternal decree, and without any reference to the future conduct of man, has elected some out of the corrupt mass to become vessels of his mercy (*vasa misericordiæ*), and left the rest as vessels of his wrath (*vasa iræ*), to bear the just consequences of their sins. Augustin called the former *Prædestinatio*, the latter *Reprobatio*, and thus evaded the necessity of directly asserting the doctrine of a predestination to evil (*prædestinatio duplex*). On the whole, he endeavoured to soften the harshness of his theory by practical cautions."[2] A new system afterwards developed itself, known as Semipelagianism, by pursuing a middle course between the two extremes, and by the partial adoption of the premises of both systems, without carrying them out in all their logical consequences.[3]

At the period of the Reformation, there prevailed among Christians of all denominations the general belief, "that the salvation of man depends on the free grace of God. But they differed on the question, whether the divine decree which has reference to this point is unconditional, or depends on the conduct of man, whether it is general or particular. . . . Thus it happened, that Roman Catholics, Arminians, and most of all Socinians, endeavoured, in the sense of Pelagianism, or Semi-

[1] Hagenbach's Compendium of the History of Doctrines, in Clark's Foreign Theological Library, vol. i. p. 297. Edinb. 1846, 8vo.

[2] Ib., vol. i. p. 304.

[3] Ib. p. 306.

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pelagianism, to reconcile the divine decrees with human liberty. On the other hand, both Lutherans and Calvinists, following the example of Augustin, rejected the notion of the freedom of the will, and denied every co-operation on the part of man. Nevertheless it is a striking fact, that the Lutherans avoided the strict consequences of the Augustinian system, and asserted that the decrees of God are conditional, while the Calvinists not only admitted the necessity of those consequences, but having once determined the idea of Predestination, went so far as to maintain that the fall of man itself was predestinated by God, (*Supralapsarium.*) But this notion was at last almost entirely abandoned," &c.[1]

In his Institutes of the Christian Religion, Calvin has devoted four chapters of his third book to the doctrine of Election and Predestination. In the 21st chapter he treats "Of the Eternal Election by which God has predestinated some to Salvation and others to Destruction." In the next chapter this doctrine is confirmed by proofs from Scripture. In the following chapter he gives a refutation of the calumnies by which this doctrine is always unjustly assailed; and in chapter xxiv., he treats, in separate divisions, of the Case of the Elect and the Case of the Reprobate.

Calvin's views on this subject were chiefly opposed by Hieronymus or Jerome Bolsec, and Sebastian Castellio, or Castalio. The former openly impugned the Calvinistic doctrine of the eternal decree of Predestination, as opposed to free will and the foresight of works; and the latter, after his removal from Geneva to Basel in 1544, followed the same course in his Exposition of the ninth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. Both were answered by Calvin, who prepared a public Declaration of the true doctrine of Predestination, which was approved of by the Consistory of Geneva.[2] It is entitled, "De Æterna Dei Prædestinatione, qua in salutem alios ex hominibus elegit, alios suo exitio reliquit: item de Prouidentia qua

[1] Hagenbach, vol. ii. p. 254.

[2] Theod. Bezæ Vita Calvini.

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res humanas gubernat, Consensus Pastorum Geneuensis Ecclesiæ, a Io. Caluino expositus."[1] The controversy was again revived by Castalio, Bolsec, and others, accusing Calvin as inclined to the fatalism of the Stoics, and alleging that he made God the author of sin, excluding nothing from his eternal providence and ordination.[2]

It was not, however, in Geneva alone that such doctrines were maintained or controverted. The early progress of the Reformation had been much retarded and injured in public

[1] The original edition, "Genevæ, ex officina Ioannis Crispini. M.D.LII." is in small 8vo.

[2] Of the two persons who rendered themselves most conspicuous at Geneva, by supporting the Pelagian doctrines in opposition to Calvin and other Protestant divines, the first was Jerome Bolsec, a native of Paris, and originally a Carmelite. He forsook his order, and having been driven from France, he for some time practised medicine at Ferrara. In this capacity he came to Geneva in the year 1551, but in December of that year, the council of that city passed a sentence of banishment from the republic; his continued opposition to Calvin, and his maintenance of heretical opinions, led also to his expulsion from the Canton of Berne. On returning to France, he endeavoured to be admitted a minister in the Reformed Church; but failing in this, he reassumed his former religion and the practice of physic, and after an unsettled course of life, he died at Lyons in 1585. He is chiefly known by two works which he published in 1578 and 1582, as the Lives, Manners, and Doctrines, of Calvin and of Beza, filled with the most atrocious calumnies, and evincing his deadly hatred to the Reformed Church.

The other was a person of greatly superior learning and irreproachable conduct, and whose name is more particularly connected with the present work. Sebastian Castalio, or Castellio (in French, Chateillon), was born in 1515. Having embraced the doctrines of the Reformation, he came to Strasburg in 1540, and formed an intimacy with Calvin, who obtained for him an appointment as Rector of the Scherlo, or College of Geneva. His aspirations after absolute truth led him to maintain peculiar opinions, which were esteemed to be heterodox. Having left Geneva after a period of three years, he retired to Basel, where he died on the 29th December 1563. His sentiments in regard to the punishment of Heretics, and on Predestination, involved him in a fierce controversy with Calvin and Beza. Castalio, under the feigned name of Martinus Bellius, having maintained the general position of Toleration, Beza, during his residence at Lausanne, published a treatise *De Hæreticis a Magistratu Puniendis*, in which he asserts the right and duty to punish Heretics. Other two treatises published by Beza at this time contained, the one an argument of Christianity derived from the doctrine *de Æterna Dei Prædestinatione*, the other, an Answer to Castalio on this doctrine of Predestination.

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estimation by the sect of Anabaptists and the fanatical adherents of Thomas Munzer, continued by the insurrection of the peasants in Southern Germany and parts of Switzerland. The misunderstanding of evangelical liberty gave a religious character to such insurrections. The Anabaptists, although punished with great severity, continued to increase in numbers.

Towards the close of the present work, Knox introduces an historical narrative of the insurrection of the Anabaptists in Germany; but for this purpose, he contents himself with giving two long extracts translated from a well known work then recently published, "The Commentaries of John Sleidan."[1] This, indeed, forms a chapter in all the histories of the period.[2] As to their doctrines, the Anabaptists maintained that they were the only true Church, well-pleasing to God and the community of Christ; and taught that they who are received by rebaptism into their community, should have no communion with the Evangelical or other Church. They also held that no one should be compelled to believe by any force or constraint, nor any be put to death for the faith: that infant baptism was of the Pope and the Devil; and that true Christian baptism should be administered alone to persons who make confession of repentance, and to such as are instructed and capable of understanding.[3]

"The denomination of Baptists, as at present existing, (says one of that body,) regard the term Anabaptists as a term of reproach, because it seems to identify them with the Anabaptists of Munster, who were guilty of great excesses at the time of the Reformation in Germany, and adopted sentiments which they entirely disclaim. The only point in which there seems to be an agreement, is that of the rejection of infant baptism. The Baptists only baptize those whom they conceive to have

[1] See the notes, *infra*, pp. 423, 432.

[2] Robertson's Charles V. (Book v. 1534, 1535.)

[3] See a further detail of the doctrinal conceptions of the Anabaptists, in Gieseler's Eccl. History, translated, vol. v., note pp. 354–356, in Clark's Foreign Theol. Library.

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been unbaptized before, because they deny the validity of any baptism which is not practised by immersion, and on a personal profession of faith in Christ."[1]

We find, however, that the original sect of Anabaptists were not restricted to Germany. They extended to England and other countries. On the 24th of November 1538, "four Anabaptists, three men and one woman, all Dutch, bare faggots at Paul's Cross;" and on the 29th, "a man and woman, Dutch Anabaptists, were brunt in Smithfield."[2] On the 29th of April 1540, three persons "were examined in St Margaret's Church, and were condemned for Anabaptists, and were on the 3d of May brent in the highway beyond Southwark."[3] In Certain Injunctions set out by the authority of Henry VIII., the books of the Anabaptists are included among those which are specially prohibited.[4] A translation of a work by the eminent Swiss divine, Henry Bullinger, is worthy of notice. It bears the title: "An holsome Antidotus, or Counterpoysen agaynst the pestilent Heresye and Secte of Anabaptistes, newly translated out of Laten into English, by John Veron, Senonoys. London, printed by H. Pouell, 1549," 8vo. It is dedicated to Edward Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector. This work was written in German, but had been translated into Latin by Leo Jude, Bishop of Zürick. In the same year there also appeared on this subject, "Certayne litel Treatises by John Veron, Senonoys, for the erudition and learning of the symple and ignorant people." About the same time, Bishops Gardiner and Ridley were appointed to deal with two Anabaptists in Kent;[5] and Knox himself mentions an interview he had with one of that sect at London in the winter of 1553, who gave him a book to read, which he declares was blasphemous and deserving of death.[6]

[1] Rev. Dr Cox, art. The Baptists, in Cyclopædia of Religious Denominations. London, 1853, 12mo.

[2] Stowe's Annales, by Howes, edit. 1615, p. 575.

[3] Ib. p. 579.

[4] Wilkins, Concilia, vol. iii. p. 847.

[5] Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. pp. 68, 70.

[6] See *infra*, p. 406

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It may further be noticed, that among the articles to be inquired of in the Visitation of the Diocese of London, by Nicholas (Ridley) Bishop of London, in the year 1550, one was,—"Whether any of the Anabaptists sect, or other, use notoriously any unlawful or private conventicles, wherein they do use doctrine, or administration of sacraments, separating themselves from the rest of the parish?"[1]

In the same year, in the royal commission for the observance of the Book of Common Prayer, reference is made to the fact of the prevalence of such errors:—"Exoriri in nonullis nostri Regni locis quosdam, qui resuscitant sceleratos Anabaptistarum et Libertinorum errores, et qui aliarum hæresium impia et impura dogmata serunt et instillant in aures rudis vulgi."[2]

After Queen Mary's accession, in 1554, Bishop Bonner, in his Declaration, also speaks of the realm of England as "grevously vexed, and sore infected with many and sundry sorts of sectes of hereticks, as Arrians, *Anabaptists*, *Libertines*, Zuinglians, Lutheranes, and many other."[3]

The controversies on the subject of Election by Grace had engaged the attention of the English exiles at Geneva. In the list of Anthony Gilby's works, subjoined to the previous volume,[4] it will be seen that in his Commentary on Malachi, about the year 1553, he had written "of this matter of Election and Reprobation, which is called Predestination." No copy of this work has been discovered; but three years later, or in 1556, he published "A briefe Treatise of Election and Reprobation, with certain Answers to the Objections of the Adversaries of this doctrine."

I have not been able to discover any book to which the title of "Careless by Necessity" is applicable. Neither have I found any trace in a separate form, printed or written, of the

[1] Cardwell's Documentary Annals, vol. i. p. 79.
[2] Ib. p. 72.
[3] Ib. p. 137.
[4] Vol. iv. p. 549.

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Confutation itself. But Knox in his Answer exhibits a minute review of all the arguments of "the Adversary," which are reprinted verbatim, with the answers, section by section. An incidental notice at page 122, renders it most probable that it was only circulated in manuscript. "The copie (he says) which came to my hands was in that place imperfecte, for, after the former wordes, *it had onely written*, 'confyr to the world.'"

Various allusions made by Knox in his Answer to this Confutation, plainly point to the circumstance of his having had some personal acquaintance with the Author. He speaks of him and his faction following their Captain Castalio;[1] and as one "who had become an open traitor to the veritie which once he professed:" "I appeal (he says) to thy own conscience, thou unthankful unto men, and open traitor to the veritie which once thou professed, &c."[2] "I write to thee, whose corrupt manners, friendly and secretely I have rebuked, but whose malice I now know."[3] He urges him to a speedy repentance;[4] and to "greater diligence in godlynes then of many daies thou hast done wheresoever thou hast haunted." Knox even avows that he would willingly sacrifice his own life to be the means of joining him truly to Christ Jesus: "I take to record the Lord Jesus, that I wold bestow my own life to joyn you fully with the Lord Jesus."[5]

Although no attempt has hitherto been made[6] to identify the author of the Confutation, there are some circumstances connected with the history of ROBERT COOKE, as stated by Strype, which seem to me nearly conclusive on this point. But whoever his antagonist may have been, he was unquestionably a

[1] "The impudent writer, or collector, of this book, whose nature is better known unto me than unto many," &c. *Infra*, pp. 56, 226.

[2] Ib. p. 183. [3] Ib. p. 127.

[4] Ib. pp. 83, 86, 127.

[5] Ib. p. 237.

[6] No mention of this controversy occurs in the Brief History of the English Anabaptists, by the Rev. John Lewis, of Margate, Lond. 1738, 8vo. The author's copy of this work, interleaved, and bound in two volumes folio, with very numerous corrections and additions, for a second edition, is preserved in the Bodleian Library, (Rawlinson's MSS. c. 409, 410.)

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person of no ordinary acuteness and ability, judging from the manner in which he conducts his sophistical arguments.

"The Anabaptists of these days (says that most accurate and industrious historian) were generally infected with Pelagianism and other heresies; they were also very confident and disputacious. One of this sort was now crept into the Court, namely Robert Cooke. He was a person of a very courteous, fair deportment, of some learning, and particularly well skilled in music. When Parkhurst (he that afterwards was Bishop of Norwich) was preacher to Queen Katherine Parr, at the Court, he was Keeper of the Wine Cellar. Here he became acquainted with the said Parkhurst, and also with Coverdale, Dr Turner, and other learned men, in their attendances at the Court. This man, besides that he was against the Baptism of Infants, denied Original Sin, and concerning the Lord's Supper he dispersed divers odd things. The said Dr Turner wrote a book against him, in which he confuted his opinion of Original Sin. He often created trouble to Parkhurst and Coverdale about these controversies, so that they were tired with him; for he was a man full of words. When Jewel, and other learned men, his friends, came sometimes to Court to visit Parkhurst, Cooke would presently begin a dispute with them, and would never make an end. This man seems to have been among the Exiles under Queen Mary, and became then known to the learned Rodulph Gualter at Zuric; who afterwards, in his Correspondence with the said Parkhurst, then Bishop of Norwich, inquired after him; which was in the year 1573. He was then alive, and still in the Court, being one of the Gentlemen of the Queen's Chapel; and for his opinions, which he still retained, had sometime before been like to have been discharged of his place; but he made a recantation, and so continued still in his room at the Chapel."[1]

That Knox became acquainted with Cooke during his resi-

[1] Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. p. 70.

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dence in London as one of King Edward's Chaplains, is at least highly probable. The avowed opinions, as well as the conduct of Cooke, may fully warrant the supposition of his having been "the Adversary" to whom Knox refers. Strype mentions Dr William Turner as having written in opposition to Cooke. One of his treatises, dedicated to Hugh Latimer, entitled, "A Preservative, or Triacle, against the Poyson of Pelagius, lately renewed and sturred up again, by the furious sect of the Anabaptists," was printed at London for Andrew Hester, 1551, 12mo. But the Treatise on Original Sin, specially in answer to Cooke, who assumed, in Latin, the name Cocchæus, was apparently never printed. It is thus mentioned in a letter of Parkhurst, who became Bishop of Norwich, to Rudolph Gualter: "Contra Rob. Coccheum [aulicum] scripsit libellum, dum in vivis esset Edvardus Rex, clarissimus ille medicus et doctissimus theologus, Gul. Turnerus, in quo illius sententiam de peccato originali refutavit."[1] A letter of Cooke's, signed Robertus Cocchæus, to Gualter, is printed in the Parker Society's collection of Zurich Letters.[2]

It appears that Geneva was frequently visited by persons accused of entertaining very heterodox sentiments. While Knox and some of the Protestant divines had occasion to

> . . . . assert Eternal Providence,
> And justify the ways of God to men,

there were others, like Castalio, Gentilis,[3] and their followers, unwilling to rise "to the height of this great argument," but who endeavoured to propagate their own peculiar sentiments.

[1] Volumen Epistolarum Johannis Parkhurst, partim Latine, Rud. Gualtero, Henr. Bullingero, &c., 1570–1574. MS. Norwic. More. 125, in the University Library, Cambridge. (Wood's Ath. Oxon., vol. i. p. 361. Tanneri Bibliotheca, p. 727.)

[2] Vol. ii. p. 236.

[3] Giovanni Valenti Gentilis, a native of Calabria See article Gentilis, Bayle's Dictionary. He fortunately escaped during Calvin's life, having had his name associated with that of Servetus; but he was ultimately tried for heresy and beheaded at Berne, 10th of September 1564.—(Dyer's Life of Calvin, pp. 451, 453–457.)

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The bold and arrogant speculations of such men may have suggested the passage of Milton, when describing the occupations of some of the fallen spirits:—

> Others apart sat on a hill retired,
> . . . . . and reasoned high
> Of Providence, Foreknowledge, Will, and Fate,
> Fix'd fate, Free will, Foreknowledge absolute;
> And found no end, in wandering mazes lost.

That such persons found their way to Geneva, during the time that Knox was minister of the English congregation, appears from the Letter to his Brethren in Scotland, written from Dieppe on the 1st of December 1557.[1] Being apprised that persons who had imbibed these opinions had also visited Scotland, he cautions his friends against affording them any encouragement; and while giving a brief statement of his own sentiments, he expresses an intention, "at more opportunity, God willing, to intreat"[2] and confute such dangerous tenets. This purpose he accomplished in the present work. That it was prepared for the press before his final return to Scotland is sufficiently clear, when we consider how fully his time was afterwards occupied; and this renders it probable that it may have been chiefly written at Dieppe in 1559, during the interval of his application for the permission which was denied him, to pass through England on his way to his native country.

That the author had no opportunity of correcting the sheets while at press, seems also evident. The following extracts from the Council Registers of Geneva, for which I am indebted as well to the kindness of W. H. Laurence, Esq., as to that of the Rev. Dr Merle D'Aubigné, throw some light on the publication, and leave little room to doubt that the work was revised at press by Whittingham.

"9 November 1559.—Concerning that which is proposed: a certain Englishman having written against the doctrine of

[1] Vol. iv. pp. 261–275. [2] Ib. p. 271.

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Predestination, in such a way that the faithful in England have requested the English of this city to make a reply to him, the which is done, and they request permission that it be printed: it is ordered, that this matter be communicated to the Ministers."[1]

("9. Novembre 1559.—Angloys. Sur ce quilz ont proposé que certain Angloys a escript contre la Predestination, tellement que les fideles d'Angleterre ont priez les Angloys de ceste ville de luy faire responce, la quelle est faite, et suplient permettre qu'elle soit imprimée: a este arresté, qu'on communique la chose aux Ministres.")

"13 November 1559.—William Whittingham, John Barron, and John Knox. Concerning the request of the Englishmen to be permitted to print a treatise concerning Predestination, in English, in reply to another Englishman who hath written against it; having heard the report of the Sieur Lect, who had communicated with the brethren ministers, an order has been given that they should be permitted to print the same, provided that it shall not bear to be *Imprinted at Geneva:* And also, that the said Whittingham and Barron promise to be responsible in case that the said Treatise, composed by the said John Knox, should be found to contain any thing contrary to the catholic and orthodox doctrine."[2]

("13 November 1559.—Guill. Vttinguen, Jean Barron, et Jean Knoxe, Anglois. Sur ce quilz ont requys de leur permettre d'imprimer ung traité de la Predestination en Anglois, responsif a ung autre Angloys qui en a mal escryt; estant ouy le raport du Sr. Lect, qui en a communique avec les freres ministres, a est arresté quon leur permet de l'imprimer, moyennant que dessus ny ayt pas *imprimé a Geneve:* Et aussi, que les dicts Whitingham et Baron promettent de repondré en cas que dans la dict traité, composé par le dict Jn. Knox, il sy trouvat chose contre la doctrine catholique et orthodox.")

[1] Registres de Conseil. Archives, Hotel de Ville, Geneve, fol. 141. 9 Novembre 1559.

[2] Ib. fol. 144. 13 Novembre 1559.

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From the above extracts we learn that Knox had been requested to undertake this task.—That his work, in England, was much esteemed by his Puritan friends, may be inferred from the circumstance, that in 1580 Toby Cooke, stationer, obtained a licence to reprint it.[1] As no edition of that date is known, we may conclude that it was not actually reprinted till the year 1591. The London edition of that date may be considered as a literal reprint, the peculiarities of foreign orthography being corrected.[2]

Calderwood, in summing up Knox's character, remarks: "HOW PROFOUND HE WAS IN DIVINITIE, THAT WORK OF HIS UPON PREDESTINATION MAY GIVE EVIDENCE.[3]

[1] Herbert's Ames, vol. iii. p. 1263.

[2] In the present edition, I have occasionally adopted the more correct orthography of 1591, in such words as *either*, *neither*, *agree*, *foresee*, *read*, &c., in place of *ether*, *nether*, *aggre*, *forse*, and *red*, which might convey a different meaning to an ordinary reader.

[3] Calderwood's History, vol. viii. p. 29.

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AN ANSWER

TO A GREAT NOMBER

of blaſphemous cauillations written by an Anabaptiſt, and aduerſarie to Gods eternal Predeſtination.

AND CONFVTED

By *Iohn Knox, miniſter of Gods worde in Scotland.*

Wherein the Author ſo diſcouereth the craft and falſhode of that ſect, that the godly knowing that error, may be confirmed in the trueth by the euident Worde of God.

PROV. XXX.

¶ *There is a generatiō that are pure in their owne cōceit, and yet are not waſhed from their filthines.*

Printed by Iohn Creſpin.

M. D. LX

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In small 8vo, pp. 455, in Roman letter, signatures A to Ff 4, in eights. On the last page is a list of "Fautes escaped in the printing."

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AN ANSVVERE
TO A GREAT NVMBER OF BLASPHEMOVS CAVILLATIONS WRITTEN BY AN ANABAPTIST, and aduerſarie to Gods eternall Predeſtination.

And confuted by IOHN KNOX, *Miniſter of Gods word in Scotland.*

WHEREIN THE AVTHOR SO DISCOuereth the craft and falſhood of that ſect, that the godly knowing that error, may be *confirmed in the truth by the euident word of God.*

PROV. XXX.

There is a generation that are pure in their owne conceit, and yet are not waſhed from their filthineſſe.

IMPRINTED AT LONdon for Thomas Charde.
1591.

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In small 8vo, pp. 443, Roman letter, signatures A to Ee 6, in eights. The device on the title is that of Richard Field, from whose press the volume evidently proceeded.

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THE PREFACE.

AMONGEST the manifold blessinges wherewith God hath blessed his chosen children, (whom before all begining of times he hath predestinate to life in Christ Jesus), it is not the least, most deare Brethren, that he hath given unto us plaine advertisement, how diverse unto diverse persons shalbe the effect and operation of his Word, so oft as it is offered unto the worlde. To wit, that as He himself was appointed by his heavenlie Father, and forespoken by the Prophetes, to be the Stone of offense, the stombling block, and a snare to the two houses of Israel; and yet that he shoulde be to others the Sanctuarie of honor, the Rocke of refuge, and author of libertie; so should his Word, I say, truely preached, be to some foolishnes and the savor of death, and yet unto others, that it shoulde be the swete odore of life; the wisedome and power of God, and that to salvation, to all those that beleve.

Eph. 1. 3.

2 Cor. 2 18.

Esaie 8. 14.

2 Cor. 2. 16.

1 Cor. 1. 23.

I purpose not at this present to intreat nor to reason, how and why it is, that God's eternall Worde, which in itself is alwayes one, worketh so diversly in the heartes of those to whom it is offered; but my onelie purpose is, in few wordes, to admonish us, (to whom it hath pleased God, of his owne free mercy, more playnely to revele the mysteries of our redemption then he hath done to many ages before us), not to esteme this a small and common blessing of God, that we have not onely his trueth, but also the effect and operation of the same, confirmed to us by experience of all ages. Great and infinite is that benefit of God, and rightly can it never be weighed whensoever he doth offer his trueth unto the world. But such is either the dulnes of man or els his ex-

John 1. 5.

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treme ingratitude, that he will not acknowledge the face of the veritie, shyne it never so bryght. The ingratitude of the Jewes is hereof unto us a sufficient witnes. For albeit
Matt. 27. 38. that long they did looke for the Messias and Saviour promised, yet, nevertheles, when he came with wonderous signes and workes supernaturall, they did not onely not know him,
Act. 2. 23. but also refusing, and utterly denying him, they did hang him betwext two theves upon a crosse. The cause hereof in some parte we know to be the carnal libertie which continually they did thirst after, and their preconceaved opinion of worldlie glorie; which because Christe Jesus appeared not to satisfie according to their fantasie and expectation, therfore did they contempteously refuse him, and with him all God's mercies offered unto them. Which fearfull example, deare Bretheren, is to be observed of us. For by nature it is evident, that we be no better then they were. And as touching the league and societie with God, which prerogative long made them blessed, we be farre inferiour unto them. For in comparison of that league made with Abraham, the tyme is shorte that the Gentiles have bene avowed for God's people, and beloved spouse of Christe Jesus. Yea, Paule feareth not to call them the very natural branches, and us the branches of a wilde olive. And therfore if their contempt was so punished, that blindnes yet remaineth upon them, what oght we to feare? They, not considering the office of Christe, and the cause of his coming, were offended with his presence and doctrine. And doeth any man
Companions of the trueth. think that we be free from the same dangers? Few shalbe found that in mouth praise not veritie, and every man appereth to delyte in libertie; but such companyons do follow bothe the one and the other in this life, so that both are despised and called in doubt when they be offered moste plainly to the world.

To speake this mater somewhat more planely: it is a thing (as I suppose) by many confessed, that after darknes light hath appeared; but alas! the vices that have abounded in all estates and conditions of persons; the terrible crueltie which hath bene

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used against the Saintes of God; and the horrible blasphemies which have bene, and daily are, vomited furth against Christe Jesus and his eternall veritie, hath given (and justly may give) occasion to the imprudent beholder of such confusion, to preferre the darknes of superstition, which before did reigne, to the light of salvation, which God of his great mercie hath now of late yeares offered againe to the unthankfull world. For what naturall man can think that the justice of faith, planelye and truely preached, should be the occasion of sinne? That grace and mercie offered, shoulde inflambe the heartes of men with rage and crueltie? And that God's glorie declared, should cause men impudently to spew furth their vennom and blasphemies against him who hath created them? The naturall man, I say, can not perceave how these inconveniences should follow God's Word, and therfore do many disdein it, a greate nomber deny it, and few, as it becommeth, with reverence do imbrace it. But such as with grave judgement shal consider what was the common trade of living, when Christe Jesus him self did, by preaching and working, call men to repentance; what was the intreatment of his dearest servants whom he sent furth to preach the glad tydinges of his death and resurrection; and what horrible sectes followed, and daily did spring after the publication of that joyfull Atonement made betwene God and man by Christe Jesus, by his death, resurrection, and ascension: such, I say, as diligently do observe these former pointes, shall not onely have mater sufficient to glorifie God for his graces offered, (be the lives of men never so corrupted, and the confusion that thereof insueth never so fearful,) but also they shall have just occasion more steadfastly to cleave and stick to the trueth, whose force and effect they see alwaies to have bene one from the beginning. The givers of these offenses shall no doubt sustein the wo pronounced against them by Christe Jesus. But yet must the children of God understand, that of necessitie it is that such offenses come, that the elect may first be tryed, and after be partakers of that blessing pronounced

Matt. 18. 7.

1 Cor. 11 19.

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Luke 7. 23. by our Master in those wordes, "Blessed is he that is not offended in me."

The cause of these my former wordes is, that as Satan ever frome the beginning hath declared himself ennemie to the free grace and undeserved love of God, so hath he now in these last and moste corrupted daies most furiously raged against that doctrine, which attributeth all praise and glorie of oure redemption to the eternall love and undeserved grace of God alone. By what meanes Sathan first drew mankynd frome the obedience of God, the Scripture doeth witnesse: To wit, by powring into their hartes that poison, that God did not love them; and by affirming, that by transgression of God's commandement they might attein to felicitie and joy; so that he caused them to seke life where God had pronunced death to be. This same practise hath Sathan ever frome the beginning used, to infect the Church with all kynd of heresie; as the writings of Moyses, of the Prophetes, of the Apostles, and of the godlie in the Primative Church, do playnelie witnes. But alas! to such blasphemie did never the Devil draw mankynd as now of late daies, in the which no small nombre are become so bolde, so impudent, and so irreverent, that openly they feare not to affirme God to be unjust, if that He in his eternal counsel hath Elected more one sort of men then another, to life everlasting in Christe Jesus our Lord; which thing of late daies is more planely come to oure knowledge then before we could have suspected; and that by the sight of a book, moste detestable and blasphemous, conteinyng, as it is intituled, "THE CONFUTATION OF THE ERRORS OF THE CARELESS BY NECESSITIE." With that odious name do they burden all those that either do teach, either yet beleve, the doctrine of God's eternall Predestination. Which booke, written in the English tongue, doeth contein aswell the lies and the blasphemies imagined by Sebastian Castalio, and laid to the charge of that moste faithfull servant of God, John Calvine; as also the vane reasons of Pighius, Sadoletus, and Georgius Siculus, pestilent Papistes, and expressed

Sathan hath ever raged against the free mercies of God.

Ephes. 2. 8.

How Satan drew man first from God.

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ennemies of God's free mercies. The dispitefull railing of which booke, and the manifest blasphemies in the same conteined, togither with the earnest requests of som godlie Brethren, moved me to prepare an Answere to the same. Others, I doubt not, might have done it with greater dexteritie; but with reverence and feare do I lay the talent committed to my charge, upon the table of the Lord, to bring to his Church such advantage as his godlie wisdom hath appointed.

The cause of the writing of this Worke.

But lest that some shoulde think, that my labors might better have bene bestowed in some other exercise, I thoght expedient to admonish all brethren, and charitably to requyre of them, not to esteme the mater to be of small weight and importance. For, seing that God's free grace is openly impugned and disdainfully refused, I judge it the duetie of everie man that loketh for life everlasting, to give his confession to Christe Jesus, whose glorie is by these blasphemers, to the uttermoste of their power, suppressed. Some do think, that because the reason of man can not atteine to the understanding, how God shall be just, making in his counsel this diversitie of mankind, that therefore, better it were to kepe silence in al such mysteries, then to trouble the braynes and myndes of men with curious disputations. I willingly confesse, that al curiositie oght to be avoided, and that with great sobrietie we ought to contemplate and beholde that incomprehensible mysterie of our redemption. But yet I say, that the doctrine of God's eternal Predestination is so necessarie to the Church of God, that, without the same, can Faith neither be truely taught, nether surely established; man can never be broght to true humilitie and knowledge of himself; neither yet can he be ravished in admiration of God's eternal goodnes, and so moved to praise him as appertaineth. And therefor we feare not to affirme, that so necessarie as it is that true faith be established in our hartes, that we be broght to unfeined humilitie, and that we be moved to praise him for his free graces receaved; so necessary also is the doctrin of God's eternall

The necessitie of the doctrine of God's eternall Predestination.

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Predestination. For first, there is no way more proper to buyld and establish faith, then when we heare and undoubtedly do beleve that our Election (which the Spirit of God doth seale in our hartes) consisteth not in ourselves, but in the eternal and immutable good pleasure of God. And that in such firmitie that it can not be overthrowen, nether by the raging stormes of the world, nor by the assaultes of Sathan; nether yet by the wavering and weaknes of our own fleshe. Then onely is our salvation in assurance, when we fynd the cause of the same in the bosom and counsell of God. For so do we by faith apprehend life and peace manifested in Christe Jesus, that by the direction and guyding of the same faith we looke farther, to wit, out of what fountaine life doth procede. In Christe Jesus now presently do we fynd libertie and life; he is made unto us of God, wisdome, and righteousnes, and sanctification, and redemption; and in the promes of his Gospel is founded the stabilitie of our salvation. But yet we have a joy which far surmounteth this. For albeit that we should heare that the mercies and the graces of God were offered unto all men, and albeit also that we should fele that our heartes were somwhat moved to beleve; yet onles the very cause of our faith be knowen, oure joye and comfort can not be full. For if we shall think that we beleve and have embrased Christe Jesus preached, because our wittes be better then the wittes of others, and because that we have a better inclination, and are of nature more tractable then be the common sorte of men, Sathan, I say, can easely overthrow all comfort buylded upon so weak a ground. For as the heart of man is vain and inscrutable, so may it be that those that this day be tractable and obedient, having also som zeale toward godlines, yea, and also bothe sense and feling of God's mercie; such, I say, may shortly hereafter become stubborn in some cases, disobedient in maters of greate importance, tempted with lustes, and finally they may be left so barren, that rather they shall tremble at the sight of God's judgementes, then that they can rejoyse in the free adoption of his

The stabilitie of Faith.

Rom. 5. 1.

John 14. 6.

1 Cor. 1. 30.

Ro. 1. 26.

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children. And therefor, I say, that except our comfort be grounded upon that foundation which never can be moved, it is not perfect. And that ground is this, that when we understand that presently we beleve in Christe Jesus, because we were ordeined before the beginning of all tymes to beleve in him; as in him we were elected to the societie of eternall life; then is oure faith assuredly grounded, and that because the giftes and vocation of God are without repentance, and he is faithful that hath called us. His infinite goodnes, which moved him to love us in another then in our selves, that is in Christe Jesus, according to his free benevolence, which he had purposed in him, is to us a towre of refuge, which Satan is never able to overthrowe, nor the gates of hell shall never prevail against it. For howsoever we be changeable, yet is God in his counsel stable and immutable; yea, how weak, how feble, how dull that ever we be, yet is there nothing in us (even when we be in our owne judgement most destitute of the Spirit of God) which he did not se to be in us before we were formed in the wombe, yea, and before the beginning of all tymes, because all is present with him. Which imperfections, infirmities, and dulnes, as they did not stoppe his mercie to elect us in Christe Jesus, so can they not compel him now to refuse us. And frome this fountaine doth flow this our joye, that with the Apostle we are bolde to crye, "Who is able to seperate us from the love of God which is in Christe Jesus?" For seing that the Father, who hath given us for a peculiar inheritance to his onelie Sonne, is so mightie, that owte of his hand is none able to take us away; what danger can be so great, what sinne is so grevous, or what desperation so depe, that is able to devoure us! For seing it is God himself who will absolve us from all iniquitie; and seing that Christe Jesus his Sonne wil advowe us to appertein to his bodie, what is he that dare ryse against us to condemne us! The comfort hereof doeth none fele except the chosen children of God, and that in the daye when man's justice faileth, and the battell of their conscience is

The unmovable ground of Faith. Rom. 8. 29. Ephes. 1. 14. 2 Thes. 2. 13. 2 Pet. 1, 2, & 20.

Rom. 11. 29.

Rom. 8.

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moste grevous and fearefull. Therefore as Faith springeth frome Election, so is it established by the true knowledge of that doctrine onely, which this day is moste furiously oppugned by those who do not understand the same.

And frome that same Doctrine floweth the verie mater of trew humilitie. For while we beholde the condition of those whom nature hath made equall, to be so farre divers the one from the other, it is unpossible but that the children of God in their own heartes unfeinedly shalbe humbled. For whither so ever they shall directe their eyes, they shall behold fearefull examples of blyndnes, and of such iniquitie as all men justly oght to abhorre; but when they consider themselves to have receaved light in the midst of such darknes, and themselves to be sanctified in the midst of so wicked a generation, from what fountaine can they say that this procedeth? Who hath illuminated their eyes while that others abyde in blyndnes? Who doth brydle their affections while that others do follow the same to perdition? Yf they say, Nature; their own conscience shall convict them, for Nature hath made us all equall; "By nature are we the children of wrathe aswel as other." If they say Education, reason, or their own studie; common experience shall declare their vanitie. For how many have bene norished in vertue, and yet become moste filthie in life! And by the contrarie, how many have long remained without all vertuous education, and yet in the end have atteined to God's favor? And therfore we say, that such as attribute any thing to themselves in the grace of their election, have not learned to give to God the honor which to him apperteineth, because they do not frely confesse what maketh them to differre from others. It is universally receaved for a sentence moste true, that as humilitie is the mother of all vertue, so it is also the roote of all godlynes. But how is it possible that that man shalbe humbled, that can not abyde to heare the former miserie in the which he was borne? neither yet the means by the which frome the same he was delyvered? If a begger being promoted to greate ho-

Ephes. 2.

Ham, Ishmael, Esau, Abshalom, Achitophel, Judas.

The Ninivites, Manasses, Paul, Magdelene, the Thiefe.

What Humilitie is.

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nours by the liberalitie of a king, should be remembred of his former condition; and for declaration of his gratitude, he should be commanded to reverence the embassador or herauld that thus should say unto him, "Remember, and call to mynde, how wretched, poore, and miserable somtymes thow wast, and praise the goodnes of the King, by whose mercie and gentlenes thow livest now in this honorable estate." If this begger, I say, should stomake that his povertie should be so often objected unto him, who wold saye that either he were humble, either yet thankfull to the King? No more can it be said, that such as can not abyde the mention of God's eternall Election, (by the which onely the elect be extolled to dignitie in Christe Jesus), be either humble in God's presence, either yet thankfull for that infinite benefite which excedeth all measure; to wit, that we be elected in Christe Jesus to life everlasting; and that God, according to the good pleasure of his eternall counsel, hath made separation betwext those who did fall into equal perdition, as touching the offence and sinne committed.

Such as desire this Article to be buried in silence, and wold that men should teach and beleve that the grace of God's election is common unto all, but that one receaveth it, and another receaveth it not, procedeth either from the obedience or disobedience of man; such disceave themselves, and are unthankfull and injurious unto God. For so long as they see not that true faith and salvation (as in the Discourse shalbe more plainely declared) springe from Election and are "the gifte of God, and come not of ourselves," so long are they disceaved and remayn in error. And what can be more injurious unto God's free grace, then to affirme that he giveth no more to one then to another; seing that the whole Scriptures do playnely teache, that we have nothing which we have not receaved of free grace and mere mercie, "and not of our workes, nor of anything in us, lest any man shoulde boast himself?" And therefore let wicked men rage as they list, we will not be ashamed to confesse alwaya, that onelie grace maketh difference betwixt us

Ephes. 2. 8.

Ephes. 2. 9.

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and the rest of the world. And further, we feare not to affirm, that suche as fele not that comfort inwardly in their conscience, can never be thankfull to God, neither yet willing to be subject to his eternall counsel; which is the onelie cause that these wicked men moste unreverently do storme and rage against that doctrine which they do not understand. But let us, deare Brethren, be assured, that none other doctrine doth establishe faith, nor maketh man humble and thankfull unto God. And finally, that none other doctrine maketh man carefull to obey God according to his commandement, but that doctrine only which so spoileth man of all power and vertue, that no portion of his salvation consisteth within himself; to the end that the whole praise of our redemption may be referred to Christe Jesus alone; whom the Father, of verie love, hath given to death for the deliverance of his bodie, which is the Church, to the which He was appointed Head before the beginning of all tymes. To Him, therefore, with the Father and Holie Ghost, be all praise and glorie for ever and ever. So be it.

1 Cor. 1. 30. 1 John 4. 10. Ephes. 1. 22.

TO THE READER.

For the understanding of the nombres, the Readers shall observe, that as the Writer in his pestilent booke hath devided the whole into certen argumentes, so lykewise have I devided myne Answers into certen Sections. And because that many things in his railing reasons are either unworthie of any answere, or els not necessarie to be answered so oft as he repeteth the same, I thoght good to signe those thinges in everie severall Section which I thoght in the same moste necessarie to be answered. And this I have done aswell in his Reasons as in myne Answers, so that the figure of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, which be marked in the mergent of his Reasons, are answered where the lyke nombre is found in myne Answers. This I thoght good to admonish the Reader.

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Thus Beginneth the Booke of the Adversaries of God's Eternal Predestination:—

The First Error of the Careles of Necessitie. The 1st Section.

Answer.

We are not ignorant, nether yet do ye dissemble, whom ye accuse; but how justly you term our doctrine Error, and us Careles, at this tyme I omit to speak, becaus that after we shal have occasion more largely to common with you in that mater. Onely at this present I demand of you, with what conscience can you burden us with the odious name of Stoicall Necessitie, which so often most impudently ye laye to our charge, in this your moste ungodlie and confused worke, seing that no men do more abhorre that develishe opinion and prophane name then we do? It is easie to persuade you, as I suppose, that we dissent not from the judgment of the reverend servant of Christ Jesus, John Calvin, (whome ye in skoffing and dispite use to terme and call our God). And therefore from hencefurth, to put silence to your venemous tongues, and to cause your impudencie more to appere to such whose eyes Sathan hath not blinded with like pryde and malice, as in you are more then evident, I will faithfully recyte his wordes and sentences in this behalf, written thus in his Christian Institutions.[1] Cap. 14. Section 40.

"Those, saieth he, that studie to make this doctryn, meaning of God's eternall Providence and Prædestination, odious, falsly do calumniate, that it is the Paradox, that is, doubtfull and

[1] The references to Calvin's Institutes, correspond with the revised edition, "Institutio totius Christianæ Religionis," &c. Genevæ, 1550, 4to. In the later editions, as finally revised by the Author, the arrangement of the work was entirely changed.

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hard opinion of the Stoiks, who did affirm that all things chanced and come to passe by fatall or mere necessitie. The which also was objected to Saint Augustine. As touching us, we do not willingly debate nor strive for wordes; nevertheles in no case admit we nor receave the terme which the Stoikes used in Latyn, called *Fatum*. Aswel becaus it is of the nombre of those wordes, the prophane and unprofitable novities whereof Paul willeth us to avoyd; as also because that by hatred of it, our ennemies go about to charge the veritie of God. As touching the opinion, we are falsly and maliciously burdened therewith; for we imagin not a Necessitie which is conteined within Nature by a perpetual conjunction of natural causes, as did the Stoikes; but we affirme and menteine that God is Lord, Moderator, and Governor of all things; whom we affirm to have determined from the beginning, according to his wisdom, what he wold do; and now we say, that he doth execute according to his power whatsoever he hath determined. Whereof we conclude, that not onely the heaven and earth and creatures insensible, but also the counseles and the willes of men are governed by his Providence, so that they tend and are led to the scope and end which he hath purposed?" He procedeth further, answering the objection which may be made, saying, "What then, is there nothing done by fortune and chance? I answer, That wel and godly it is written by Basilius called the Great, That fortune and adventure are the wordes of Paynims, the signification whereof oght in no wise to enter into the heart of the faithfull. For if all prosperitie be the benediction of God, and adversitie his malediction, there remaineth no place to fortune in such things as come to men." And further, to the end of that section, he bringeth furth the mynde of Augustine concerning fortune, whereof parchance we may after somwhat speake.

Libr. a l Bonifa 2, cap. 6 & 40.

Retract. lib. 1, cap. 2.

This one sentence is sufficient to convict bothe your master and you of malicious envie and most unjust accusation; for herein doeth not onely John Calvin, and we all with him

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abhorre from the terme of *Fatum* called Destinie, but also from that diabolicall opinion which the Stoikes mainteined. When I consider what should be the caus that thus maliciously ye should burden us with that which so planely by word and writing we oppugne, I am compelled to suspect, that either ye understand not the nature of the terme which ye lay to our charge, or els that ye have a further fetch then at first sight doth appere.

We plainly do affirme, That the opinion of the Stoikes is damnable and false; for they did place such power in the sterres and in their oppositions, that impossible (they affirmed) it was to change or avoyd that which by their constellation and influence was appointed to come. In so much, that they helde that Jupiter himself (whom they called the great and supreme God) could neither alter nor stop the operation of the sterres and the effectes that should folow thereupon; and so they affirmed, That the mutations of kingdomes, the honors of some men, the dejection of others, and finally, that bothe vice and vertue were all togither in the power of the sterres. Against this pestilent opinion, strongly and learnedly disputeth Augustine in diverse places, but chefely in his fift booke of that worke, intituled, "Of the Citie of God;" affirming, that onely by the providence of God are kingdoms erected, mainteined, and changed: that sterres have no power, neither to incline man to vertue nor to vice: that such blasphemies oght to be repelled from the eares of all men. Which sentences, becaus they do most perfectly aggre with God's infallible Worde, we reverentlye embrace, and constantly do beleve: And so, why that ye shuld thus impudently accuse us of that which we never thoght, wise men may wonder. O, say you, ye take away the worde of Stoicall Necessitie, but yet ye affirme the selfe same thing which they affirmed. I answer, If ye can make no difference betwext the omnipotent, moste perfect, most just, and immutable will of God, and the opposition of sterres, called constellation, you have evill profited, not onely in God's schoole,

Stoical Necessitie.

Cap. 1, 2, 3, 4, & 5.

Answer to an Objection.

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but also in those artes in which som of you wold seme to be subtill. Do we affirme, that of Necessitie it was that Pharao, after many plagues susteined, should with his greate hoste be drowned? that Nabuchadnezer should be transformed into a brute beast? that Cyrus should first distroy Babilon, and after proclame libertie to the people of God (after their long and dolorous captivitie), because the influence of the sterres did lead them to that end? Or do we not rather most constantly affirm, that the eternall counsel of God, his immutable decree and most holie wil (which onely is the most perfect rule of all justice and equitie), did bring all these thinges to passe by such meanes as He had appointed, and by his Prophetes forespoken? But here you storme, crying in your accustomed furie, What is this els but Stoicall Necessitie, to make God's wil the only cause of all thyngs, be they good or bad? How dull and ignorant you are, if ye can not make difference betwixt God's will and that Necessitie which the Stoikes mainteaned, I have before touched; and how maliciously ye impute unto us wordes and sentences, whereof ye be never able to convict us, shall shortly (God willing) be declared. But by this I perceave where the shoe doeth wring you. If God's will, his counsel, his providence, and decree beare rule in the actions of mannes lief, then foresee you and feare that your free will shal be broght into bondage; and so can ye not come first to the perfection of angels, and in processe of tyme to the justice of Christe, by the meanes of your free will. Whether I wrongously suspect you, and so have erred in my judgement, your own wordes shall after witnes. For seing that we have planely proved, that most unjustly and moste maliciously ye accuse and traduce us of the vane opinion of the Stoikes, I will procede to that which ye call our First Error, efter that I have (for the better instruction of the simple reader) declared what we understand by Prescience, Providence, and Predestination, which termes do so offend you that ye can not heare them named.

Why the Anabaptist myslyketh the doctryn of Predestination.

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When we attribute PRESCIENCE to God, we understand that all things have ever bene, and perpetually abyde present before his eyes, so that to his eternall knowledge nothing is bypast, nothing to come, but all thinges are present, and so are they present that they are not as conceaved imaginations, or formes and figures, whereof other innumerable thinges procede (as Plato teacheth, that of the form and exemple of one man many thousandes of men are fashioned). But we say that all things be so present before God, that he doeth contemplat and beholde them in their veritie and perfection. And therefor it is, that the Prophetes often tymes speak of things being yet after to come, with such certentie as that they were alreadie done. And this Præscience of God do we affirm to be extended to the universall compasse and circuite of the world, yea, and unto every particuler creature of the same. PRESCIENCE.

God's PROVIDENCE we call that soverane empire and supreme dominion, which God alwayes kepeth in the governement of all thinges in heaven and earth conteined. And these two (that is Prescience and Providence) we so attribute to God, that with the Apostle we fear not to affirme, that in him we have our being, moving, and lief: We feare not to affirme, that the way of man is not in his owne power, but that his foot-steppes ar directed by the Eternall: That the sortes and lottes, which appere most subject to fortune, go so furth by his Providence: "That a sparro falleth not upon the ground without our heavenlie Father." And thus we give not to God only Præscience by an ydle sight, and a Providence by a general moving of his creatures, as not only some philosophers, but also mo then is to be wished in our daies do, but we attribute unto him such a knowledge and providence as is extended to every one of his creatures. In which he so worketh, that willingly they tend and incline to the end to which they are appointed by him. What comforte do the sonnes of God receave in earnest meditations hereof, this tyme will not suffer to intreate. But at one word to finish: Alas! to what miserie were we exposed, if PROVIDENCE. John 10. Prover. 20. Matth. 10. 29. Prover. 16.

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we should be persuaded that Sathan and the wicked might, or could do any thing, otherwise then God hath appointed, let the godly consider.

PREDESTINATION. PREDESTINATION, whereof now this question is, we call the eternall and immutable decree of God, by the which he hath once determined with himself what He will have to be done with everie man. For he hath not created all (as after shalbe proved) to be of one condition. Or, if we will have the definition of Predestination more large, we say, that it is the most wise and most just purpose of God, by the which, before all tyme, he constantly hath decreed to cal those whom he hath loved in Christ, to the knowledge of himself and of his Sonne Christ Jesus, that they may be assured of their adoption by the justification of faith; which working in them by charitie, maketh their workes to shyne before men to the glorie of their Father, so that they (made conforme to the image of the Sonne of God) may finally receave that glorie which is prepared for the vessels of mercie.

These latter parts (to wit, of vocation, justification of faith, and of the effect of the same) have I added for such as think that we imagin it sufficient, that we be predestinate, how wickedly so ever we live. We constantly affirme the plane contrarie; to wit, that none living wickedly can have the assurance that he is predestinate to lief everlasting. Yea, althogh man and angell wolde beare record with him, yet will his own conscience condemne him, unto such tyme as unfeanedly he turne from his wicked conversation.

These termes I thoght good in the beginning to explane, to the end that the reader may the better understand our meaning in the same, and that we be not after often compelled to repete them again. Now to that which ye call the First Error.

THE 2D SECTION.

THE ADVERSARIE.

God hathe not created all men to be saved by any manner of meanes, but before the foundation of the world he hath chosen a certen to salvation, which

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is but a small flock, and the rest, which be innumerable, he hath reprobate and ordeined to condemnation: Because so it pleaseth Him.

ANSWER.

They are not onely reputed liers and called fals witnesses, that boldly and planelie affirme a lie in plane and expresse wordes, but such also as in reciting the myndes of other men, change their meaning by altering their wordes, by adding more then they spake, or by dyminishing that which might explane the thinges that remained obscure, or more fully might expres the minde of the speakers. And in all these three vices are you criminall in this your first accusation or witnessing laid against us. For our wordes ye have altogether altered; to them ye have added, and from them ye have diminished that which ye think may aggravate and make odious our cause. And therefore, I say, ye are detestable liers and malicious accusers. For probation hereof I appele to our writings, be they in Latyn, Frenche, Italian, or English, (in so many tongues this mater is written), if that any of you be able to bring furth our propositions in any of them in this your forme, and conteining your whole wordes, I offer to make satisfaction unto you, (whether ye will by worde or writing), that I have highly offended in calling you detestable liers. But if ye be never able to shew any such wordes used by us (as plane it is ye be not), then your Master Castalio and you bothe are far from that perfection (to speake no more bitterly) which ye pretend. For ye are manifest liers, and whose sonnes they are called you can not be ignorant, accusing men of that they never ment. For thus formeth Castalio his first fals accusacion against Master Calvin: "God hath created to perdition the most part of the world, by the naked, bare, and pure pleasure of his own will." And this same ye affirme in mo wordes more impudently patched; so bothe you and he do adde to our wordes of your own malicious mynd. These sentences: "God hath created the most parte of the world, which is an innumerable multitude, to perdicion, onely becaus it so pleased Him;" you steall from

Liers are the Devilles sonnes.

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our wordes, and suppresse that which ever we joyne when we make mention of God's Predestination, to witt, that he hath created all thinges for his own glorie. That albeit the cause of God's will be incomprehensible, secret, and hid from us, when of the same masse he ordeyned some vesselles to honor and some to destruction, yet it is moste just, most holie, and most to be reverenced. Now to the further declaration aswel of our mynd as of your shameles malice, I shall recite some sentences of Master Calvin, as doth that godlie and learned man, Theodorus Beza, against the craftie surmyse of your Master Castalio. "I say (saieth John Calvin) with Augustin, that of God they were created, whom without doubte he foreknew to go to perdition; and that was so done becaus so he wold. Why he wold, it apperteineth not to us to inquire, who can not comprehend it; neither yet is it convenient, that the will of God shall discend and come downe to be decided by us. Of the which, so oft as mention is made under the name of it, is the supreme and most high rule of justice nominated. And further, we affirme that which the Scripture clearly sheweth, to wit, that God did once by his eternall and immutable counsel appoint whom somtyme he should take to salvation, and also whom he should condemne to destruction. We affirm, those whom he judgeth worthie of participation of salvation, to be adoptate and chosen of his free mercie for no respect of their own dignitie; but whom he giveth to condemnation, to the same he shuteth up the entres to life by his incomprehensible judgement; but yet by that judgement that neither can nor may be reproved."

Institut. cap. 14. sect. 5.

And in another worke, "If we be not ashamed (saith he), of the Gospell, it behoveth us to confess that which therin is manifestly taught;" that is, that God of his æternall good pleasure, whose cause dependeth upon none other, hath destinate to salvation whom it pleased him, the rest being rejected. And whom he hath honored with his free adoption, those He illuminateth by his Spirit, that they may re-

De æterna Dei Prædestinatione.

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ceave the life offered in Christ. Others by their own will so remaning unfaithfull, that being destitute of the light of faith they continue in darknes. Also that which Sainct Augustine writeth: "So is the will of God the highest rule of justice, that whatsoever he will, in so far as he willeth it, it is to be holden just." Therefor, when the question is, Why did God so? it is to be answered, Because so he wold. But if thow procede asking, Why he wold? thow sekest a thing greater and more hie then God's will, which can not be found. And after, saieth he, "We must ever returne to the pleasure of his will, the cause whereof is hidde within himself." Instit. cap. 14. sect. 14.

But to make this mater more evident, I will adduce one or two places mo, and so put end to this your forged accusation for this tyme. In his book which he writeth of the Eternal Predestination of God, thus he saieth, "Albeit that God before the defection of Adam had determined, for causes hid to us, what he was to do, yet in Scripture we read nothing to be condemned of him except sinne." And so it resteth, that he had just causes (but hid from us) in rejecting a part of men; for he hateth nor damneth nothing in man but that which is contrarie to his justice. Also writing upon Isaie, the 23d chapter, upon these wordes: "The Lord of Hostes hath decreed to prophane the pryde of all the noble ones," &c., he saieth, "Let us learn of this place, that the providence of God is to be considered of us, that to him we may give the glorie and praise of his omnipotencie, for the wisdom and the justice of God are to be joyned with his power. Therefore, as the Scriptures teach us, that God by his wisdom doth this or that, so do they teach us a certen end why he doth this or that: for the imagination of the absolute power of God, which the Scholemen have invented, is an execrable blasphemie; for it is asmuch as they should say, that God were a tyrant that appointed things to be done, not according to equitie, but according to his inordinat appetite. With such blasphemies be the scholes replenished; neither yet differ they Calvin upon Isaiah, 23. The schooles of Papistes full of blasphemies.

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from the Ethnicks, who did affirme that God jested or did sporte in the maters of men. But we are taught in the schole of Christe, that the justice of God shyneth in his workes, what so ever they be, that the mouthes of all men may be stopped, and glorie may be geven to him alone. And therefor the Prophet rehearseth just causes of this destruction (meaning of the destruction of Tyrus), that we shall not thinke that God doth any thing without reason. Those of Tyre were ambitious, proude, avaricious, lecherous, and dissolute."

What! is he so simple, which may not now consider and understand what was your malice and devilish intention, in patching up this your first accusation? not the zeale of God's glorie, as you falsly pretend, but the hatred which ye have conceaved against them who have soght your salvation. For if ye had ment any thing simply, ye should not have added that which ye be never able to shew in our writings; neither yet can ye laufully prove that we have spoken the same in reasoning with any of you. We (so taught by the Scriptures) with reverence do affirme, That God for just causes, albeit unknowen and hid to us, hath rejected a parte of men. But you, making no mention of any cause, affirme, that we holde "That He hath created the most part of the world (which is innumerable) to no other end but to perdition;" in which shameles lie your malice passeth measure. For neither do we rashly define the nomber of the one nor of the other; howbeit the Scripture in dyvers places affirmeth Christes flocke to be the litle flocke, the nomber to be few that findeth the way that leadeth to life. This notwithstanding, I say, we use not boldly to pronounce, whether of the nombres shalbe the greater, but with all sobrietie we exhorte the people committed to our charge, not to folowe the multitude to iniquitie. For if they do, there is no multitude that can prevaile against God. And so to us in this behalf ye are greatly injurious.

But yet in the second parte, your malice is more manifest, for ye burden us that we should affirme, That the end of the

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creation of the reprobate was none other but their eternall perdition. From which calumnie Master Calvin clearly purgeth us in these wordes: "All ought to know (saieth he) that which Salomon saieth, that God hath created all for himself, and the wicked also to the evill day." Consider and mark, that we (instructed by the Holie Ghost) do first affirme, that the cause and end why the reprobate were created, neither was, nor is not, their onlie perdition (as ye burden us), but that the glorie of God must nedes appere, and shyne in all his workes. And secondarely, we teach, that their perdition doeth so depend upon God's Predestination, that the just cause and mater of their perdition is found within themselves; and that albeit the decree and counsel of God be incomprehensible to men's understanding, yet nevertheles it is most just and most holie. And thus have I so plainely, and in so few wordes as conveniently I could expound in what pointes ye are malicious liers, what ye have added of hatred to our wordes, and what ye suppresse, that the equitie of our cause should not appere to men. God grant you (if his good pleasure be) with greater modestie to write, and with more humilitie to reason in those highe mysteries, which far surmount the reach of mannes capacitie.

Inst. cap. 14. sect. 17.

But now I procede to the preface of your Confutation, which thus beginneth.

The Adversarie.

The 3d Section.

The Confutation of the First Error.

To prove this true, they can bring furth no plane testimonie of the Worde. For there is no such saieng in the holie Scripture, That God hath reprobate man afore the world. But the sentences which they alledge be far fet and forged, contrarie to the meaning of the Holie Ghost, as God willing it shall planely appere. And where Scripture will not serve, they patch their tale with unreasonable reasons, for theire hole intention is contrarie to true reason.

Answer.

In verie dede, if all were true which ye have heaped up in your unjust accusation, I, for my parte, wold not ashame to

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confesse, that more were affirmed then plane Scriptures do teach; but your additions, which before we have touched, being removed, and that added which of malice ye have omitted, I hope that our Proposition shalbe so plane and simple, that the reasonable man (if he be godlie) shall neither lacke good reason nor plane Scriptures to confirm the same; albeit that ye are bold to affirme, that we have neither Scripture nor good reason, and that our whole intention is contrarie to true reason. But now let us forme our own Propositions. God, in his eternall and immutable counsels, hath once appointed and decreed whom he wold take to salvation, and whom also he wold leave in ruyne and perdition. Those whom he elected to salvation, he receaveth of free mercie, without all respect had to their own merites or dignitie, but of undeserved love gave them to his onelie Son to be his inheritance; and them in tyme he calleth of purpose, who, as his shepe, obey his voice, and so do they attein to the joy of that kingdom which was prepared for them before the foundations of the world wer laide. But to those whom he hath decreed to leave in perdition, is so shut up the entrie of life, that either they are left continually corrupted in their blindnes, or els if grace be offered, by them it is oppugned and obstinatly refused; or if it seme to be receaved, that abideth but for a tyme only, and so they returne to their blindnes, and croked nature, and infidelitie agane, in which finally they justly perishe.

Two chief Propositions.

Becaus the whole controversie standeth in this, Whether God hath chosen any to lief everlasting before the beginning of al tymes, leaving others in their just perdition or not: my purpose is first by plane Scriptures to prove the affirmative; and after, in weying the same and other Scriptures that by God's grace shalbe adduced, so planely as I can to shew unto you what horrible absurditie inevitably foloweth upon your error, in which ye affirme, That God hath chosen no man more one then another. That either your blindnes removed, ye may turne with all humilitie to the eternall Sonne of the eternall God,

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against whom you arm yourselves, or els that your damnation may be the more sodayne and just for your refusall of the plaine light offered.

That God hath chosen before the foundation of the world, witnesseth the Apostle, saying, "Blessed be God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christe, who hath blessed us with all spirituall blessing in heavenlie things by Christe: As he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world was laid, that we should be holie and without blame before him by love." Here the Apostle in expresse wordes affirmeth, that God hath chosen a certein nombre, (for he speaketh not to the whole world, as you either ignorantly or els maliciously do after alledge, but to his beloved congregation of Ephesus, who with all obedience had receaved the word of lief offered, and with great pacience had continewed in the same, even after the departure of their Apostle from them, yea, after his bondes and imprisonement): Such, I say, doeth the Apostle affirme that God hath chosen, and that before the foundations of the world were laid, so that we have God's Election before all beginning planely proved. Here might I bring furth many places, but I, having respect to brevitie, stand content with this one place. Ephes. 1.

That this He hath done once in his eternall and immutable counsell, without respect to be had to our merites or workes, (which you alledge to be causes of God's Election), witnesseth the same Apostle, proceding as foloweth: "Who hathe predestinat us that he should adoptat us in children by Jesus Christe, according to the good pleasure of his will, that the glorie of his grace, by the which he hath made us deare by that Beloved, may be praised. In whom we have redemption, and by his blood remission of sinne, according to his aboundant grace; of the which he hath plentifully poured upon us all wisdom and prudence; opening to us the secrete of his will, according to his good pleasure which he purposed in himself: to the dispensation of the fulnes of tymes summarely to re-

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store all things by Christe, bothe those that be in the heavens, and those that be in the earth: by whom we are chosen in a portion or lott, predestinate according to the purpose of Him by whose power are all thinges made according to the decree of his will: that we should be to the praise of his glorie." Here the Holie Ghoste, as it were of set purpose, foreseing mannes unthankfulnes, useth wordes not only moste propre, but also most vehement, and often repeteth the same, to beat doune all pryde and arrogancie of man, presuming to arrogate any thing to himself in the mater of his salvation. He first saieth, "God hath Predestinate." And lest that some might have thoght, as you, folowing the Papistes, do now blasphemously affirme, that so he did in respecte of our worthines, of workes, or faith; in one sentence, he secludeth all which is without Christe Jesus and without himself, saying, "He hath predestinate us to adoptate us in children by Christe Jesus in himself, according to the good pleasure of his will." If Christ Jesus, yea, if God the Father his æternall counsel, his decree and purpose, be other then our worthines, our faith, our qualitie, or our good workes, then neither for them, nor in respect of any of them, were we chosen to lyfe. For plainly he affirmeth, that by Christe in himself, according to his good pleasure, which he had purposed in himself, were we adoptate to be children, yea, and that according to the purpose and decree of his wil.

Here have you the same and mo wordes then we used. For here are those wordes: "The purpose of his good will, that he hath purposed in himself to predestinate and adoptate us in children," which wordes do most lively expresse that which we affirme. But yet, perchance, ye lacke the proofe of this parte, that God in his immutable counsell hath once chosen. For after, I perceave, that this doeth much offend you, I trust ye will not reject the testimonie of S. James, for ye seme upon his wordes much to lean. And he saieth, "That every good and perfect gift is frome above, discending from the

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Father of light, with whom there is no variablenes, neither shaddowing by turning: He hath (saieth he) of his owne will begotten us by the worde of veritie." If with God, as he affirmeth, there be no variablenes, then must his counsell be immutable. If in him there be not now darknes and now light, but that as He dwelleth in the light which is inaccessible, so are and ever have been all thinges present in his sight; then in his eternall counsell there falleth neither ignorance nor repentance, and so what he once decreed, that he faithfully will perfourme to the praise of his own glorie. But if ye will not admit my reasons, then must I bring unto you plain Scriptures, "That God hath chosen before the foundations of the world; that he hath predestinate, purposed, and decreed to adoptate us in children," is before proved. The Prophet Isaiah, from the fortie chapter of his Prophecie to the end of the same, intreateth chefely these two argumentes: upon the one part to comfort the afflicted and dispised Church, (which then was sore oppressed, and after was to be led captive to Babylon): upon the other part, to threaten just vengeance aswell upon the contemners of grace offered, as also upon the cruel ennemy. The estate of the Church was such, that all hope of libertie, redemption, and comfort was taken from them. They were as dead carions, buried in disperation, against the which the Prophet continually fighteth, calling them frome the contemplation of the present miseries, and frome the sight of such impediments as to them appered to stop their libertie, to the infallible promise of God, and to his counsell, which he affirmeth to be constant, and to his love which is immutable. And therefor so often doeth he repete: "It is I, the Eternall, who hath created the heavens; and hath laid the foundations of the earth: It is I, it is I that will do it, for my own name's sake. I will establish the word of my servant, (he meaneth of Isaiah and of his other Prophetes, who in his name promised delyverance to the people), and I will perfourm the counsell of my messingers. I say to Jerusalem, Be thow inhabited, and to the walles of Zion, Isai. 41.

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Be you builded." By these and many other places the Prophete travaled to lift up the people from the pitt of desperation in which they were to fall by reason of their grevous calamitie and long captivitie; and that he might with more efficacie persuade the same, he bringeth them to the league made with Abraham, to the remembrance of their wonderful deliverance out of Egipt, and to the lenitie of God which their fathers had found at all tymes. But in vane had all his labour been if God's counsell, decree, and purpose had been changeable. For easily they might have objected: To what use serveth us the promise made to Abraham, or the kyndnes of God which our forefathers tasted! We have refused God, and therefor hath he refused and rejected us! He hath broken his league and covenant with us! But against all these desperate voices, and against your blasphemous error, who affirme that God's counsell and purpose changeth as man doeth, fighteth and prevaileth the Prophete, saying, " My cogitations are not your cogitations, neither are your waies my wayes, saieth the Eternall. But like as the heavens are hyer then the earth, so do my wayes excell your waies, and my thoghtes your thoghtes. And the word that passeth furth of my mouth shall not returne voyd to me; but it shall do whatsoever I will, (note, and give glorie to God!), and it shall prosper in those thinges to the which I have sent it." I doubt not but that the godlie reader doeth clearly see the mynd of the Prophete to be to rebuke the vanitie of the Jewes, beleving that God's counselles, covenant, and love, were subject to such mutabilitie as they themselves were in there counselles, love, and promises. But the Prophet maketh so much difference betwext the one and the other as is betwext the heaven and the earth; and doth further affirme, that as the dewe and rayne do not fall and come downe in vane, so shall not the word which God speaketh (which is of more excellencie then all creatures) lack his effect; but it shall worke the will of God, and shall prosper as he hath appointed it, and that becaus it is God who hath spoken that which was purposed in

Isaiah 55.

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his eternall and immutable counsell before all tymes. Upon this ground and foundation (that is upon God's immutable love and counsell) buildeth the Prophet the salvation and delyverance of the Churche, as more planely he speaketh in these wordes: "For this shalbe to me as the waters of Noah: for as I have sworne that the waters of Noah shall no more overgo the earth; so have I sworne that I shal not be angrie at thee, neither yet rebuke thee. Rather shall the mountanes leave their place, and the hilles shake, then that my goodnes shall leave thee, or that the covenant of my peace shall waver, saieth the Eternall, who hath compassion upon thee." Which only one place is sufficient to prove whatsoever we have affirmed, that is, That God's counsell, love, and goodnes towardes his Churche is immutable. For the example and the similitude which he bringeth in are most plane and evident. The waters have never universally overflowen the earth synce the dayes of Noah, to whom he made his covenant to the contrarie, and yet no less iniquitie (yea, greater) hath reigned in all ages synce then did before. What is then the cause that the like or greater vengeance is not taken? The certentie, no doubt, of his promise which he hath made to his Churche in Christe Jesus his onelie Welbeloved. The montanes we see in all tempestes and stormes do kepe their place, they do not flitte, neither yet are they shaken with the vehemencie of windes. But if they should, saieth the Eternall, my goodnes shall not leave thee (O, mercie without measure!), neither shall the covenant of my peace shake nor waver.

Isaiah 54.

The constancie of God's promes.

Thus I suppose, that the godlie reader doth perceave and see, that we lack not Scripture (as ye affirme) to prove that God's love and counsell towardes his Elect is stable, and that because it is grounded upon himself and not upon us, as (to your condemnation, if by tymes ye repent not,) ye falsly imagine. But yet lest that ye shall complain that these Scriptures be not plane ynough, I will bring in yet one, and so end this parte: "Heare me, O house of Jacob,

Isaia. 46.

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and all you residue of the house of Israel, who are borne of me frome the wombe, and borne of me from the birth: and even to the age I am He (the same God), and even to the whyte haires I shal bear: I have done, and I shall bear; yea, I bear, and deliver." What wordes can be more vehement and more plaine, to prove that the love of God can never change from his Elect! For that is his conclusion which he collected upon the former partes, saying, "I shall bear, and I shall delyver." And why! because I have born you. Is this a good reason that God shall delyver because that he hath once born! Howsoever it seme to the Anabaptist, it semeth good to the Holie Ghost. And David and Job did, with the like remembrance, comforte themselves in their greatest tribulations.

Psal. 22. The one saying, "Thow art he that hast drawen me furth of my mother's wombe. In thee I trusted, hanging upon my mother's breastes: upon thee was I cast from the birth: frome my mother's wombe thow art my God." In these wordes David did arme himselfe against the horrible tentations which did assault him in those moste grevous persecutions which under Saul he susteined. For so must not that Psalme be interpreted of Christe and his passion, that David had no portion of it; by the which, when, to his own judgement, and to the judgement of all men also, he appered to have been oppressed, he gathered new strength and comfort by the benefits of God, which before he had receaved. And so he concludeth here: Thow that art the author of my life, thow that didst norish and preserve me even in the midest of darknes, wilt continue my God still, and so shalt thow deliver me. What is the reason of this conclusion! David himself doth expres it saying,

Psal. 138. "O Lord, thy mercie is everlasting: thow shalt not leave the workes of thyne handes." In which wordes David, frome the midest of troubles, is lift up to the contemplation of God's nature, who as he chuseth of free mercie, and bestoweth his giftes upon his children before that either they can deserve them or yet know them; so doth he continue the same moste constantly

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to the end unto the membres of Christes bodie. And upon this same ground alone stayed the faith of Job, in his most extreme anguishe, for in these wordes he doth as it were complayne to God: "Thy handes have made me, and fashioned me wholy round aboute; and wilt thow destroy me? Remember, I pray thee, that thow hast fashioned me as the potter doth his clay; and wilt thou bring me into dust againe? Hast thou not poured me out as milk, and turned me to cruddes like cheese? Thou hast clothed me with skinne and flesh, and joyned me together with bones and synewes. Thou hast given me life and grace, and thy visitation hath preserved my spirite. Thogh thou hast hid these things in thyne heart: I know that it is so with thee." Here it is plain that Job fighteth against desperation, which vehemently did assault him by reason of his paines intollerable. And in his battell he apprehendeth this holde: "God hath begon to shew mercie unto me, which in many things I have felt, and I still depend and hang upon the same; therefor my God may not dispyse the workes of his handes." And so farre procedeth he in this disputation, till that he maketh this conclusion, which God after did approve: "I know (saieth Job) that my redeemer[1] liveth, whom I shall see; yea, myne eis shal see him and none other." Upon what ground, I say, did this faith of Job stand? No doubt upon this, that God's counsell is stable, and that his love is immutable towardes such as once he had taken in to his savegarde. And if ye doubt that this is rather our collection then the plaine sentence of the Holie Ghost, conferre oure proposition with the former wordes of Isaiah, and let it be judged by them. And if that yet ye crye, that we have broght furth no plaine Scripture affirming that the counsell of God is immutable, then heare what the same Prophete saieth: "It is I (saieth he) that frome the beginning shew the things that be last, and from the beginning those thinges that be not done. It is I that do speak, and my counsell is stable, and whatsoever I will that I do." Job 10. Isaiah 46.

[1] In the orig. edit. "revenger;" corrected in the edit. 1591.

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Consider and beholde that the Prophet affirmeth the counsell of God to be stable, yea, to be so immutable, that neither could the tyranny of the ennemies, neither yet the former sinnes of the people, neither yet their present unthankfulnes, stoppe God from shewing his mercie: Becaus that his infinite goodnes founde a waye even in the midest of death to manifest his own glorie. Such as by malice be not altogither blinded, having any exercise in the Scriptures of God, may easely perceave that I have wrested no parte of the Prophetes mynde. For continually one thing doth he beat in their eares, to witt, that God will shew mercie, will deliver, and will be Saviour unto them for his Name's sake, for his promise made to Abraham, and for the glorie of himself.

But now shortly let us heare two or three places of the New Testament spoken to the same purpose, and so let us put [an] end to this part. Our Master Christ Jesus plainely affirmeth, that all which the Father gave him shoulde come unto him, pronouncing, that whosoever cometh he wold not cast him
John 6. furth, but will rayse him up and give him life. "For this (saieth he) is the will of the Father that hath sent me, that I shall lose nothing of all those which the Father hath given to me, but that I might rayse them up in the last day: For this is the will of him that hath sent me, that all that seeth the Sonne and beleveth in him may have life everlasting."

Of those wordes of our Master, it is evident; First, that the Father hath geven some to the Sonne Christe Jesus, yea, and also that some be that are not given. But of that after. And secondarely, that it behoveth the same to come unto him, for so he affirmeth, saying, "All that my Father gave unto me shall come unto me." He leaveth it not in doubt, but planely affirmeth, they shall come. Thirdly, the end and fruicte of the comming is expressed, to witt, that they obteine life everlasting. Which to them that of the Father are given and of the Sonne receaved is so sure, that Christe Jesus himself pronounceth, "That oute of his handes is none able to

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plucke them awaye." Plaine it is, that the counsell of God is stable, and his love immutable towardes his Elect, becaus (al other conditions set aparte) Christe affirmeth, That the life everlasting perteineth to them that are given by God, and receaved by him in protection and savegarde. But more planely doth he speake in that his solemne praier; for after that by divers meanes he had comforted the sorowfull heartes of his Disciples, he giveth comfort to the whole Churche, affirming, "That he did not pray onely for those that there were present with him, but also for all those that should after beleve, by their preaching, in him." These wordes he added for our singular comforte: "I have given unto them the glorie which thow hast geven to me; that they may be one, as we are one; I in them, and thow in me, that they may be made perfecte in one; and that the world may know, that thow hast sent me, and that thou hast loved them as thow hast loved me." O that oure heartes coulde, without contradiction, embrace these wordes; for then with humilitie shoulde we prostrate ourselves before oure God, and with unfeined teares give thanks for his mercie! John 17.

Three things in these wordes are to be observed; First, that the same glorie which God the Father hath given to his Sonne, the same hath he given to such as beleve in him. Not that either Christ Jesus had then the full glorie, as he was man, for as yet he had not overcome the death; neither that his Elect at any tyme in this life can atteine to the fruition of the same, but that the one was as assured in God's immutable counsell as was the other. For as the Head shoulde overcome the bitter death, and so triumphe over Sathan the authour thereof, so should his membres in the tyme apointed; as he doth further expresse, sayinge, "I will, Father, that where that I am, there also be those which thou hast given unto me, that they may see my glorie." The second is, that so streit and neare is the conjunction and union betwixt Christ Jesus and his membres, that they must be one, and never can

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be seperated. For so did Christe pray, saying, "That they all may be one, as we are one: I in them, and thow in me, that they may be made perfecte in one." Let the conjunction be diligently marked, for much it serveth to our comfort. As the Godhead is inseparably joined with the humanitie in Christ Jesus our Lord, so the one, that is the Godhead, neither could nor can leave the humanitie at any tyme, how bitter that ever the stormes appeared; so can not Christ Jesus leave his dear spouse the Church, neither yet any trew membre of the same. For thes he includeth under the generall word "all," for any accident, how horrible that ever it be, that came to passe in their life. And albeit that this appere strange, and also a doctrine that may seme to give libertie to sinne, yet may not the children of God be defrauded of their foode, because that dogges will abuse the same. But of this we shall (God willing) after speak. The third thing to be noted is, That the love of God towardes his Elect, given to Christe, is immutable. For Christ putteth it in equall ballance with the love by the which his Father loved him. Not that I wold any man should so understand me, as that I placed any man in equall dignitie and glorie with Christe Jesus touching his office. No, that must be reserved wholly and onely to himself; that he is the onely Beloved, in whom all the rest are beloved; that he is the Head, that onely geveth life to the bodie; and that he is the soverane Prince, before whom all knee shall bowe. But I meane, that as the love of God the Father was ever constant towardes his deare Sonne, so is it also towardes the membres of his bodie; yea, even when they are ignorant and enemies unto him, as the Apostle witnesseth, saying, "God specially commendeth his love towardes us, that when we were yet sinners Christ died for us; much more being justified now by his blood, we shall be saved by him from wrath. For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Sonne, much more, we, being reconciled, shall be saved by his life."

Rom. 5.

To some these wordes may appere contrary to oure purpose,

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for they make mention of a reconciliation, which is not made but where there is ennemitie and dissension. But if they be righteously considered, they shall most evidently prove that which we affirme, which is, that God loved the membres of Christes bodie even when they are ignorant, when they by themselves are unworthie and ennemies. For this is his first proposition, That we being justified by Faith, have peace with God by our Lord Jesus Christ. Where he maketh mention of peace, he putteth us in mynde of the dissension and warre which was betwext God's justice and oure sinnes. "This enemitie (saith he) is taken away, and we have obteined peace." And lest that this comforte shoulde sodenly evanish, or els that men shoulde not depely wey it, he bringeth us to the eternall love of God, affirming that God loved us when we were weake. Where we must observe, that the Apostle speaketh not universally of all men, but of such as were and should be justified by Faith, and had the love of God poured into their heartes by the Holie Ghost which was given unto them. To such, saieth he, If God did love us when we were weake, and his ennemies, muche more must he love us when we are reconciled, and begin, in Faith, to call him Father. The Apostle affirmeth, that oure reconciliation proceded from God's love, which thing Sainct John more planely doeth witnes in these wordes: "In this appeareth the love of God towardes us, that God hath sent furth his onely Sonne into the world, that we should live by him. In this, I say, is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and hath sent his Sonne [to be] the propitiation for our sinnes." So that bothe those Apostles in plaine wordes do speake that which before I have affirmed, to witte, that God loved the membres of Christ Jesus even when they were ennemies, aswell touching their knowledge and apprehension, as also touching the corruption of their nature; which was not regenerate. And so I conclude as before, that the love of God towardes his Electe is stable and immutable, as it which beginneth not in tyme, nei- 1 John 4.

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ther dependeth upon our worthines or dignitie; which trueth is contrarie to that which I perceave ye holde and affirme.

Thus farre, I trust, we have sufficiently proved, and that by plain Scriptures, and by no patched unreasonable reasons (as the Author of your booke accuseth us), That God hath his Electe, whom in Christ Jesus he hath chosen, and that of decreed purpose, to give them life. Which purpose, counsell, and love of God is sure, stable, and immutable. Now resteth to prove, that God hath rejected some, and also to note the absurdities which folow upon your doctrine, and so shall I not be compelled after in the Discourse to spende time and travell to confute your error.

That God hath reprobated any, appereth to you horrible; yea, and ye affirme God to be more cruell then any wild beast, if so he did. For thus ye writte in your booke as foloweth:

THE 4TH SECTION.

THE ADVERSARIE.

God hath geven to all his sensible creatures a naturall inclination to love their birthes; then doth God also love his birthe, as he saieth, "Shall I cause other to beare, and shall not I also beare?" Lykewise, Shall God make other to love their birthes, and he not love his own birthe? Man is the birthe and child of God, created to his own image and similitude, (as the Prophet saith)

Zach 8. "Have we not al one Father? Hath not one God made us?" And Paul saith,

Act. 17. "We are the generation of God." Wherfore God loveth his own birthe, that is man. Then did He not reprobate and cast away man afore he was: For that were a proofe that he hated and abhorred his own birthe above all other. Now, there is no wild beast, much less any man, which wold bring furthe their birth to destruction. How much less then becometh it the goodness of God to make and bring furth, like to his own image and similitude, unto perpetuall confusion?

ANSWER.

How bolde, how shameles, and how blasphemous thou declarest thyself, (I speak to thee and thy compagnions that collected these blasphemies,) it shall shortly appere after that I have, by God's grace, with simple perspicuitie declared the trueth.

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Trew it is, that to the naturall man nothing appereth more absurde, nor more repugnant to good reason (as men term it), then that all shall depend upon God's will and appointment; for so think they that God can not avoid the suspition of injustice; yea, say they, he can not be purged nor made free from malice and crueltie. But [let] such as, enteryng within themself, do but in a parte consider what is their own condition, what is their ignorance, and how far they are inferiour to the angels in justice and knowledge; to his holie angels, I say, that be most obedient, and continually stand before his face, and yet, nevertheless, do cover their faces, and of very reverence neither dare, nor will rashly behold the brightness of his glorie. If further we shall consider that as in God, his wisdom, his power, his goodnes and mercie are infinite, so are his judgements and justice (in the self most righteous) incomprehensible to the dulnes of our wittes. For as his wisdom and power far surmounte all that we can imagin, so are his judgements and justice a great deepe (as David affirmeth, and in the booke of Job is planely described,) able to swallowe up and utterly to confounde all our senses. Alas! shall I, whose corporall eie is so feble and weak that directly it can not behold the sun, which is a visible creature, but that it shall be blinded and dasylled, shall I, I say, direct the eie of my mynde (corrupted by sinne) to measure and comprehende the brightnes of his justice, who dwelleth in the light inaccessible!

If man coulde impose or prescribe to God a law and measure of wisdom, power, mercie, and goodnes, so that none of them should otherwise be in his eternall Godheade, then man could understand and approve; then some apperance might they have to bring his justice (which is no less infinite and incomprehensible then the others) under the censure and examination of their judgement and reason. But what bolde and foolish presumption is this; that man, who knoweth not fully what lieth within his own heart, shall, without all reverence, enter to judge the secrete mysteries, the full knowledge whereof doeth onely abyde

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in the eternall Godhead; that impudently he shall pronounce, This can not be just, becaus we do neither see nor understand the cause of the justice! God graunt us greater humilitie, more reverence and fear (which righteously is called the beginning of wisdom) then that so rashly and proudly we shall presume to damne that which we understand not. Lest that doing the contrarie, that maledictiion pronounced by Isaiah fall upon us, where he saieth, "Wo be to him that reasoneth with his Maker, the vessel of claie with the potter! Doth the clay say to the potter, What makest thow? and, Thy work hath no handes. Wo be to him that saieth to his father, What shalt thow beget?"

Isaiah 45.

This I thoght expedient, briefly to admonishe the godlie reader before I did enter into plane battell with the Adversarie. Beseeching further such as do not erre in this article of set purpose and malice, but rather of ignorance and simplicitie, not to be offended, as thogh I did stomack against them, if at any tyme I shall handle the impudent writer or collector of this booke (whose nature is better knowen unto me then unto many of them) according to his malicious frowardnes: But now shortly to the mater.

The proposition and conclusion of this writer are bothe one, to witte, "God hath not rejected nor reprobated anie man." His reasons and argumentes (as the reader may perceave) are: "For that were against the nature of God," which he thus proveth, "God causeth others to beare, and therefore he beareth." And so bringing his argument from this similitude: "God maketh beastes love their birthes, therefor he loveth his birthes: but all men are the birthes of God; for God is the Father of Adame, of whom are al men borne: Therefor he loveth all men. If he loveth, then did he reprobate none, for that shoulde declare that he hated and abhorred, and were more cruell then a wilde beast." These be thy arguments (blasphemous mouth), in answering whereto, if I shall seme to excede modestie, let the godlie consider that thy hor-

The saying of a blasphemous mouthe.

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rible blasphemies are intolerable. And first, I call the heaven and earthe, the insensible creatures, and the judgement of reasonable men to witness with me, how beastly be thy cogitations of the eternall Godhead, when thou saiest, "God must love his birthes, because he hath given a naturall inclination to all beastes to love their birthes." If thy reason be good, then must God forget some of his birthes in their youth, and rejecte all care of them. For that same nature giveth God to some fowles, as the book of Job doth witnes in these wordes (speaking of the Estrich), "Which leaveth his egges in the earth, and maketh them hote in the dust, and forgetteth that the foote might scatter them, or that the wilde beast might breake them. He sheweth himself cruell unto his young ones as they were not his: and is without feare, as if he travaled in vain. For God hath deprived him of wisdome, and hath geven him no parte of understanding." If thy reason, I say, be good, God must love his birth, because he causeth all other beastes love their birthes. Then, I say, it must also folow, God shall forgett, and hardly intreat some, for such nature and inclination hath he given to some of his creatures, as is plainely proved. "I do mean (thow wilt say) of love onely;" but the Scripture (which either ignorantly or els maliciously thow corruptest) declareth the contrarie, for thow wilt make God to beare, because he causeth others to beare. That Scripture, I say, thow doest perverte, as thow doest all the rest. For what the Prophete of God applieth to the miraculous restauration of the Church which then was most afflicted, that thow doest alledge to make God have like affections with brute beastes. And that neither thou nor any other shall have occasion to reporte that I accuse thee wrongfully, I will recite the whole wordes of the Prophete, who thus speaketh: "Before she hath traveled of child-birth, she hath borne; and before that doloure come, she broght furth a man. Who hath heard the like? or who hath sene the like unto this? Was the earth builded (he meaneth set in order) in one day? Was there ever a nation borne at

Job 39.

What the Adversary will saye.

Isaia. 66.

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once? and yet Zion hath travaled of child-birth, and at once hath she broght furth hir children." He addeth the cause of this supernaturall multiplication and felicitie, saying, "Shall I bring to a strait, and shall I not cause to bear? sayeth the Eternal: Shall I cause to beare, and shall make restrainte? saith thy God." They are more then blynd which do not see that God, in these wordes, hath neither respect to the naturall inclination of beasts, neither yet to any common love that he beareth to his creatures, but to that incomprehensible and unchangeable love which he beareth to his Church, the multiplication, the joy and felicitie whereof, he will at once bring furth in such sort, that his Elect shall never remember to their grief that they susteined any passion or paine.

Let the indifferent reader compare this interpretation with the plane wordes of the Prophete, and so let thyself judge how irreverently thow doest abuse the moste confortable wordes of the Holie Gost to establish thy error. But let it be that thow didst mean of love and of no affection els, art thow become so bolde and impudent, that thow darrest subject God to the law, lymites, and boundes of nature? To speake the mater more planely, I ask of thee first, If thow wilt denie the love of God to be perfecte, except that he do for all maner of men that whiche beastes naturally do for their birthes? Secondarely, If thow filthie earth darest burden God in his presence with crueltie, as now thow doest in thy blind raige, if he hath not created and made all men of equall estate, condition, and dignitie? Thirdly, If thow shalt stand in judgement and lay injustice to his charge, if he shew mercie to whom he will, and also indurate and make hard whom he will? For all these three will I planely prove that God doeth: First, that he doth not for his dearest children, to our judgement, that which beastes naturally do for their birthes, I trust thyself will easely confes. For the tygar, the bear, the lyon, and others, do so tender their whelpes, that even against the strength of man (were he never so valiant) will they fight for defence of their young ones; but we do see

The Workes of God can not be subject to our reason

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that God commonly doth so permit his dearest children to the cruel appetites of the most wicked men, that for a season he appereth to have forgotten them, and to have turned his face and countenance frome them. And shall we therefor think that God's love is not perfect, or that his power is diminished, or his good will towardes his children changed? God forbid. "But this (say you) doth not offend us; but that God should reprobat any man whom he created to his own image and similitude, that we cannot beare, for it repugneth to his love and justice." The Reason of Anabaptistes.

Well, of your first reason which you drawe frome nature, I suppose we have obteined, that God is not bound in all things to follow the natural love of his creatures. For he doeth often suffer (and I trust ye will not say that he is enforced so to do) his dearest children most cruelly to be handled, which no beast willingly will do. Now, let us wey your seconde reason. "Man (sayeth your book) is the birthe and child of God, created to his own image and similitude (as the Prophet saieth): Wherefor God loveth his own birth, that is man. Then did He not reprobate and cast away man afore he was, for that were a proof that he hated and abhorred." Omitting your ignorance, by the whiche ye applie generally to all men those promesses which the Prophete Malachie spake to the people of God, let it be granted unto you, that as all men were created in Adam, so God some maner of way is their Father: What will or can ye thereof conclude? That God loveth all, say you. If you understand and affirme, that equally God loveth all because all were created by him, the common experience and the diversitie of God's giftes shall reprove your vanitie; for unto one man we see greater giftes given then unto other; some we see verteous, and others given to nothing but to iniquitie. If you say, He loveth them, in that he offereth unto them his grace, which when they refuse, then beginneth He to hate them, you have proved nothing of your intent; and further, the plain Scripture confuteth this your Answer. The Adversarie falsly and unreverently alledgeth this word Birth. Answer. Malac. 2.

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error. And first, I say, That before ye can prove your conclusion to be good, ye must prove that all men stode, do stand, and be born in the same perfection that Adam was created in. For it doth not folow, that God still loveth all men because he loved Adam, created to his own image and similitude. The reason is, Adam did fall from that image, became rebellious, inobedient, and slave to the Devill, and in the same damnation wrapped all his posteritie; so that now from Adam we can clame nothing but sinne, wrath, death, and hatred; as the Apostle affirmeth, "that of nature we were all the sonnes of wrathe." If ye alledge that the Apostle speaketh in that place of man as he is corrupted in Adame, and so justly deprived from God's favour, then I demand of you, If man doth yet stand in Adam? which if ye confesse, the Holie Spirit shall convict you of a lie. For by the mouth of the Apostle he affirmed, "that by one man sinne entred into the world, and by the meanes of sinne death came upon all men;" so that in the first man Adame (who fell frome his puritie) have we neither love, justice, nor life, but the contraries, to wit, hatred, sinne, and death. But God, as he had chosen his Elect before all beginning in Christe Jesus his Sonne, so hath he placed these giftes in the second Adam alone, "that of his fulnes we may all receave even grace for grace." And thus ye may easely perceave, how vane be your arguments which you judged most strong. Your First, drawen from nature and naturall inclination, proveth nothing, becaus that God, who is alwaies free, can not be subject to the lawes of nature; albeit that for our weaknes he some tymes useth similitudes taken from nature. Your Second is like vaine, seing that neither Adam himself did stand in his perfection; neither is any of his corrupted sede, as he is the son of Adam borne in that condition and dignitie, but contrarie wise, we must refuse fleshe and blood, nature and our first Adam, if ever we shall be partakers of life. This onely were sufficient to confute bothe your unreasonable reasons; but that hereafter ye shall have no occasion to complain of

What we have in Adam.

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obscuritie, neither yet that we relent in any parte, I will first simply propose what we teach and beleve; and thereafter, by God's grace, evidently prove the same.

Error of Anabaptistes.

The affirmations of the trew Christians.

You make the love of God common to all men; and that do we constantly deny, and say, that before all beginning God hath loved his Elect in Christ Jesus his Sonne, and that from the same eternitie he hath reprobate others, whom for most just causes, in the tyme appointed to his judgement, he shall adjuge to tormentes and fier inextinguible. Here you stomak and storme, here ye crie, Blasphemie, and here you say, that we affirme that which can not be proved by God's Scriptures. How sure is the probation of the former part, let the indifferent reader judge by that which is already spoken. Let us now come to the Second. And that ye shall not think that I shall more depend upon arguments and reason then upon Scripture, I will begin with Scripture, and let argumentes and reason serve onely instede of handemaides, which shall not command, but obey Scripture pronounced by the voyce of God. After that by rebellion man was spoiled of all graces, and that the contrarie vices had taken place and possession in the heartes of bothe these miserable creatures, of Adam I mean, and of the woman, God pronounced this sentence against the serpent: "Becaus thow hast done this, cursed art thow amongst all the beastes of the earth. I shall establish enemitie betwext thee and that woman, betwixt thy seede and her seede. That seede shall break downe thy head, and thow shalt break doune his heele." As I suppose, no man wilbe so impudent as to deny that this is the voice of God, pronouncing and promising that he will stablish and put a battel where none was appering to be, for Sathan before had obteined such victorie, and so had vanquished bothe the woman and Adam, that they could never have resisted that servitude by themselves. And therefor doth he disclose the bowelles of his mercie, and doth communicat with them that counsell which was secrete with himselfe before all beginning.

Gen. 3.

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Question. Answer.

And if ye demande, "How can it be proved that this was his eternall counsell?" I answer, "Becaus that He, in whom there is no changeing nor variablenes, hath now pronounced it;" and whether this reason be sufficient or not in answering to your objection, we shall after consider.

Now resteth it onely to be observed, whether it was the will of God or not, to make a difference betwext man and man? Plaine it is, that before his face, as touching the first birth, there standeth but one lumpe, or masse (as Saint Paul termeth it), and yet from the same are two seedes appointed to spring, which are the two Churches: The Elect conteined under the seede of the woman, and the reprobate or malignant Church comprehended under the name of the Serpentes seede. To the one is promised victorie; to the other is denounced, by the irrevocable sentence of God, the brusing of the head, which is destruction and confusion. I think ye will not say, that he was constreined thereto by any force exterior, as we speake, seing he is the Eternal which changeth not, ever abiding Lord over all creatures, who may and doth performe whatsoever he will in heaven and in earth. Then of necessitie it must folowe, that this battell is appointed by his will. And that do the wordes plainely beare: For he saieth not, "I know that there shall be a battell," or "I will suffer and permitt (as you use to interprete such places) a battel to be;" but he plainely saieth, "I will put and stablish the battel and enemitie," declaring thereby, that as he was the force, strengthe, and the conductor to the seede of the woman, so wolde he most assuredly give victorie to the same. Which thing S. Augustine diligently did note, and godly admonished, affirming, that our condition in Christe Jesus is now better and more sure, then before was the condition of Adam in his own free will: for that, that he had none other strength but that which might be, and was overcome, but we have the strength that is invincible, because it is the power of the Eternall. This one place, I say, doeth most evidently prove, that God willingly maketh a

The Churche of Christe and the Serpentes seede.

De Bono Perseverantia.

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difference betwixt man and man, appointing to the one sorte victorie and life, to the other subjection and death. But yet ye reply, "This can not be proved to be the eternall counsell of God, for it is pronounced in respect of the faith, workes, and obedience of the one, and in respect of the infidelitie, vicious living, and inobedience of the other." Reply of the Adversary.

Your objection (which here I now intreat, that after I be the less troubled) hath two membres; the former will I now touche, abiding better opportunitie for the other. Where ye alledge that this can not be proved to have beene the eternall counsell of God, becaus it was pronounced in tyme, your reason appereth (and is) more then foolish. For what is he that against the plain Scripture of God will affirme this reason: The kingdome of heaven shalbe given in the end of the world to the Elect of God: therefor it was not prepared to them before the beginning! Doth not, I say, the plaine voice of Christ condemne this vaine reason? Or if I should say, "The death of Christ was four thousand yeares after the beginning, therefore the Lambe was not killed from the beginning." Were not this most foolish, and contrarie to the plane Scriptures? But is not the contrarie reason most sure, most true and strong? God in tyme hath pronounced, and his sentence being once pronounced, most constantly doth he execute the same: Therefor it was his eternall and immutable counsell. As our Election was purposed and decreed in God's eternall counsell before the beginning of all tymes, and yet from age to age was the same revealed to his chosen children. Did therefor the Apostle, or rather the Holie Ghost, lie, who doth affirme that we were Elected, as before is proved, in Christ Jesus before all tyme? Even so is it in this mater: the sentence by the which the battell came furth first to the knowledge of man was temporall; but the stabilitie and continuance of it plainely proveth, that it was and is the eternall purpose and counsell of God.

But yet more deepely to discende into the mater: Was it Question.

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the eternall purpose and counsell of God to create the worlde, and so to make man to his own image and similitude? I suppose that everie reasonable man will confesse that so it was. Then do I aske, If God was ignorant what shoulde become on all mankynd before that any creation was? So to affirme, is to deny his eternall knowledge, wisdom, and Godhead. He did know and foresee his end, and yet he did creat him. Then, if it was not his eternall counsell, that to his glorie this difference and diversitie should be in mankynd, which then was but one lompe or masse, why did He not give unto hym such strength as could not be overcome? It shall nothing releve nor help you to shift with the Papistes, alledging, that God gave him free will and aboundant graces, by the which he might have resisted and ganestand all assaultes and tentations if he wold. That we deny not; but yet we aske, Why did not God give unto him the will to resiste? Or why did he not so bridle Sathan, that he might not have tempted him? I trust ye will not with the Manicheis affirme, that there was a power greater then the power of the good God, and that this wicked power did for a tyme overcom the power and destroy the counsell of the good God, who was creator and lover of mankinde. For that were plainely to deny the Omnipotencie of our God. If you say (as after ye write) that God did onely permitt and suffer his fall, ye have said nothing to the purpose; for still I demande, Whether he did suffer it willingly or unwillingly. If ye say willingly, then are ye caught in the snare which ye wold avoyde. If ye say it was against his purpose and will, then fall ye into that horrible blasphemie of the Manicheis, denying God's omnipotent power. And if yet ye wold escape, imagining God to loke and behold the end of the mater, and yet neither willing the one nor the other, then fall ye into the blasphemie of Epicurus; who althogh in plaine wordes he durst not deny God, yet did he affirme, that he regarded not the workes of men, but did idly occupie the heavens. But how far this repugneth to our faith, who beleve God to be

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omnipotent, not onely becaus he may do all thinges, but also because that it is He that created light and darknes, good and evill, and finally, that worketh all in all thinges according to the purpose of his good pleasure: Let such as be but meanly exercised in the Scriptures judge. And so, I say, that man's fall, and the difference that came to our knowledge by the same, was no less determined in the eternall counsell of God then was his creation. And that in this sentence is yet most evidently to be espied: For if God had not purposed in himself to establish this battel, and so to make a difference perpetually, why did he not wholly restore man agane to honour, to puritie, and innocencie? Why did he not stay the fountaine of sinne in our first father? why did he suffer his first corruption by propagation to come to his posteritie? Was it because he lacked power? Or was it not rather, as the Apostle doeth teach us, that He wrapped all in unbeleif, that he might have mercie upon all? that He might shew mercie to whom he wold, and harden also whom he wold? If these thinges do displease you, remember first, that they are the voices of the Holie Ghost; and secondarely, call to your mynd the condition of mankind: to witt, that bothe you and we (compared with that Soveraigne Majestie) be but wormes here creeping on the earth, and therefor can we not clim up to the heaven, and so reason or plead with the Almightie. Call to minde, I say, that question of the Apostle, calling man to the consideration of himself; in the same mater, saying, "O man, what art thow that thow mayest answer in contrarie to God?" that is, contend or plead with him. This sentence, I say, ought to humble us, and make us rather to tremble at the remembrance of his judgementes, then rashly, and with proude stomockes, to damne that which we are not able to apprehend.

God's purpose was from the beginning, to make a difference in mankinde.

But let us yet prosecute this matter further, to the end that we may see if that this hath bene and is the constant will of God, and that plainely declared by his Word, that this former difference be kept in all ages.

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The Second Difference.

No other difference was made then this generall, till the dayes of Abraham, and then a more speciall and expresse difference was made; for that which before was common to the woman's seede was then by the expressed voice of God appointed to Abraham and unto his seede, in these wordes: "In thy seede shall all the nations of the earth be blessed: I will blesse thee and multiplie thee: such as blesse thee shall I blesse, and such as curse thee shall I curse." In which wordes is no les the battell then the benediction established. For as al nations were pronounced to be blessed in his seed (which as the Apostle doeth interprete was Christe), so is it pronounced, that there shalbe some that shall curse, and therefor shall be accursed of God. Yea, it is plainely spoken, that foure hundreth yeres should his seede and posteritie be evill intreated in a strange countrey; nevertheles, the people whom they shall serve shall I judge (saieth the Lord). So have we agane the difference plainely confirmed by the voice of God. But yet God procedeth one degree further, and in Abraham's seed he maketh difference. "For in Isaak, saieth he, shall thy seed be called." By the which voice he did seclude bothe Ismael and the rest of his carnall sonnes from that honour, affirming, that from none of them should the benediction come, but onely from Isaak, which was the sonne of promise (and not of nature onely). But that difference was most evidently declared in Isaak's two sonnes, being yet in their mother's bosom, before they had done either good or bad, as the Apostle affirmeth. It was said by the voice of God, "The elder shall serve the younger." By which voice of God reveled, did Isaak and Rebecca plainely understand what was the cause of the battell which the mother felt in her bosom and wombe, to witt, that because from her wombe were two peoples and nations to procede, which could not be of equall honour and dignitie. For the one had He determined in his eternall counsell to Elect for his peculiar people, the other to reject, and to leave them in the common corruption as the other nations; as the sequel in processe of tyme

This is the cause why all the Prophetes almost do declare God's wrath against Esau and Edome. Psa. 137. Esaie 34. Jer. 49. Obad. 1.

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did evidently declare. For the Edomites, descending of Esau, were cut off from the bodie of the Church, and became manifest enemies to the posteritie of Jacob, becaus that their father was subject to Jacob, and pronounced to be his servant. Such as understand this place of corporall service and worldlie riches or dignitie onely, do nothing els but shew their own ignorance, corrupting the meaning of the Holie Ghost. For Sainct Paul, in the 9. chapter to the Romains, after that he hath affirmed that the promise and Election of God were sure, (albeit that many of the carnall seede had refused Christe preached), he bringeth in this former sentence to remove all sclander, saieng, "All are not sonnes because they are the seede of Abraham, that is, those that be the sonnes of the fleshe are not therefor the sonnes of God; but those that be the sonnes of promise are accompted for seede." And so to prove that which before he had affirmed, to witt, that all were not Israelites that came of Israel, he added these wordes: "Not only this; but also when Rebecca had conceived of one, our father Isaak, while the children were not borne, while they had neither done good nor evill, (that the purpose of God shoulde byde according to Election, not of workes, but of the caller), it was said to her, 'The elder shall serve the younger.'"

Such as be not more then blind, may easely perceive that the Apostle looketh to another end then to worldlie dignitie. For his purpose was not in that place to dispute and reason, who should be riche in this world and who should be poore, who should be lordes temporall and who should be servants; but his purpose and mynd was to declare, to whom did that benediction promised unto Abraham appertein, and to whom it did not apperteine. So that the Holie Ghost, speaking by Sainct Paule, is a commentarie of the wordes spoken to Rebecca. And I doubt not but so she did understand them, to witt, that that promise which appered to have bene common with all the seede of Isaak, (of whom it was spoken) "In Isaak shall thy seede be called," was now restreined and Rom 9.

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made proper to one head, and to the people discending of him, that is to Jacob, who after obteined the name of Israel. So that bothe the peoples neither were reputed, neither yet in very dede were the Church and chosen people of God, but the one was chosen and the other was refused. The one by grace, and of the caller, was honored with the name and priviledge of his Churche, the other was cast out as strangers: upon the one remained the benediction of the which the other was deprived. In this maner, I say, did bothe Isaak, Rebecca, yea, Jacob and Esau, in proces of tyme, understand this oracle of God.

But yet becaus this former place of the Apostle is by many evill understand, and by some maliciously wrested from the simple meaning of the Holie Ghost, in as few and plain wordes as I can, I purpose to declare how aptly and properly the Apostle useth the testimonie and wordes of Moises. Christ being preached to the Jewes, who were reputed the chosen people of God, to whom, and for whose comfort and deliverance the Messiah was especially promised; the most part of the Jewes remained unfaithfull, refused the Saviour who was sent, blasphemed him, and cruelly did persecute him and his membres. This could not be withoute a greate offense and sclander to many thousandes bothe of the Jewes and Gentiles. The Jewes, puffed up with pride because they were the peculiare people, because to them were given the Law, promesses, and oracles, did brag and boast that God could not reject them except that he should be found a lier: For to Abraham and to his seede had he made a promise. And the Gentiles might be troubled with the like cogitations; for they might think, If God shall refuse his own people, which so many yeares he tenderly had norished, what stabilitie can we loke for thogh we should receyve this Christ preached? Against bothe these sortes of men most valiantly fighteth the Apostle, and most aptly alledgeth the Scriptures, to the confutation of the one and comfort of the other. First against the Jew he reasoneth, that albeit they be Israelites after the flesh, yet it may be that

How S. Paul applieth the wordes of Moises Gene. 22.

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they be not the very Israelites of God; neither yet is God endebted unto them, thogh they be discended of Abraham. The reason is, that God made no promise to the whole seed of Abraham, but to a parte of it, that is to Isaak. And if they should say, But we are of Isaak; he, granting that, doeth nevertheles prove that God doeth not choose the whole seed of Isaak, but in the mother's wombe (as said is), by his own decree, he made the difference. And if further they should replie, O, but we are of Jacob, he then commeth to the proof of his first proposition, affirming, that albeit they were of Jacob, yet did it not thereof folow that they were all the Elect people of God. For what prerogative (wold he say) can Jacob have above his father Isaak, or what can Isaak have above Abraham? Abraham, who many yeres faithfully obeyed God, could not obtein that all his posteritie (no, not Ismael for whom he prayed) should be reckoned to be his seed. Neither could Isaak obtein the same; but God appointed and did chose whom it pleased him. And shall Jacob have greater prerogative then had they bothe? Shall he that of grace was preferred to his brother, when neither the one had done good, neither the other had done evill, give that priviledge to all his posteritie, that without exception they shalbe the chosen people of God? No, (will the Apostle conclude,) but God now, after the revelation of his dear Sonne Christ Jesus, doeth make the same difference in the posteritie of Jacob that somtymes he made in the sede of Abraham and Isaak; that is, he chooseth whom it pleaseth him, and rejecteth also such as in whom he hath no pleasure; and that not onely amongest the Jewes, but also amongest the Gentiles; and that to make the riches of his glorie knowen towardes the vessels of mercie which he had prepared unto glorie, whom he hath called, even us not onely of the Jewes, but also of the Gentiles (as the Prophet Osee saieth): and so, to the end of the chapter, he establisheth the faith of the Gentiles, and comforteth them, affirming that their vocation and Election was forespoken by Moises and the Prophetes, and therefore that it was

Promise made to Isaak.

Vessels of mercie prepared unto glorie.

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not a thing that came by chance, but was appointed in the eternall counsel of God; and therefor in his conclusion he assureth them, that such as beleve in Christ Jesus shall never be confounded.

Thus simply, but truelie (I doubt not), have I explaned the mynde of the Apostle in the former place, which is, that God's Election dependeth not upon man, upon his will, purpose, pleasure, or dignitie; but as it is free, proceding from grace, so is it stable in God's immutable counsel, and is reveled to God's Elect at such tyme as he knoweth most expedient: But because that of this we must after speak more, now we returne to our former purpose. From the beginning, we heare

God's Election dependeth not upon man.

1. that God maketh a difference: first, by that general division, seperating and setting aparte the seed of the woman from the
2. serpent's seed. After calling Abraham, (neglecting, as it were, the rest of the whole world), in Abrahames seed he maketh plaine difference, secluding Ismael, that he should not be heir
a. with Isaak. But most especially in the wombe of Rebecca, making the difference betwixt the two children and their posteritie. Which difference did continue even to the dayes of Christe Jesus, in such firmitie and stablenes, that neither could the sinnes of the Patriarches, the subtill crueltie of Pharao, the inobedience and grudgeing of the people, their apostasie and defection from God by manifest idolatrie, nor finally, their long bondage and captivitie, alter or change this immutable counsell of God: "That the elder should serve the younger;" "That the Messiah shoulde come of the tribe of Juda;" and "That of the loynes of David should spring furth one to sit upon his seat for ever." And this difference, which God by his own voice did stablish before the comming of his dear Sonne Christ Jesus, did the same Christ Jesus, oure Master, (appering flesh,) ratifie and confirme. For he plainely affirmeth, "That he was not sent but to the lost sheepe of Israel," and "That it was not good to take the bread of the children and give it to dogges." By which two sentences he maketh an ex-

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presse difference betwixt the sheepe and the goates, and betwixt the children and the dogges. He feareth not to say, to the faces of those that boasted themselves to be the sonnes of Abraham, "Ye are not of God, for if ye were of God ye should love me; but ye are of your father the Devill, and his desires ye will obey." As this sentence is fearfull, so may it appere very bold. For they might have objected, as they did, Are we not his creatures, created to his own image? Are we not the seed of Abraham? Do we not beare the figure of circoncision? Are we not collected in Hierusalem, and do we not frequent the Temple? Yes, verely, but none of all these thinges made them to be of God, in such sorte as Christ denied them to be of him. For all these thinges may the Reprobat have common with the Electe. But Christ denied them to be of God, that is, to be the sonnes and vessels of his mercie, elected in his eternall counsel, borne of him by the Spirit of regeneration, by the which their stubborn blindnes being removed, and they made obedient, durst be bolde to call him Father. In this sense Christ denieth them to be of God. If any think that their wickednes and willfull refusall of grace offered was the cause that they were not of God; as I neither excuse their manifest rebellion, neither yet deny it to be a most just cause of their condemnation, so utterly deny I that their present sinnes were the onely or the chefe cause of their reprobation. For Christ himself feareth not to assigne another cause, saieng, "Therefor ye do not heare, because ye are not of God." If they had heard, that is, receaved and beleved Christ Jesus and his doctrine, their sinnes had bene purged and their blindnes removed. But him could they not receave: And why? because they are not of God.

John 8.

Why the Jewes beleved not in Christe.

But to the objection, that the fore-knowledge of good workes, or of rebellion to come, should be the cause why God doth Electe or reject, we shall (God willing) after answere. Now onely I mynde to folow that which I have purposed, which is that Christ Jesus himself maketh a plaine and manifest dif-

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ference betwixt one sorte of men and an other. How often doth he affirme, "That his shepe do heare his voice, that he knoweth them, and that they know him;" "That it hath pleased the Father to give the kingdome to the litle flock;" "That many are called and few chosen;" "That some there be whom Christ Jesus never knew, not even when they wroght greatest miracles?" In all these, and many places mo, it is evident that Christ maketh difference betwixt one and another; but one place most notable of all others I will shortly touche, and put end to this mater. Christ Jesus, in that his most solemne and most comfortable praier, after other things, saieth, "I have manifested thy name to the men whom thow hast geven to me of the world. They were thyne, and thou hast given them unto me; and they have kept thy worde." And shortly after, "I pray for them: I pray not for the world, but for them whom thow hast given unto me; because they are thyne." If in the whole Scriptures there were no mo places to prove that in the eternall counsel of God there is a difference of one sorte of men from another, this onely one were sufficient. For first he maketh mention of men given unto him by the Father, who were (as he before affirmed) chosen owt of the world. And why were they given unto Christe? He answereth, Because they were the Father's; and how they apperteined to God more then others is before said. He further declareth what he had done unto them; what they also had done; and what he did and wold do to the end, for them. He had opened unto them the name (that is, the mercie, goodnes, constant trueth, and perfect justice,) of his heavenlie Father; which doctrine they had receaved and kept, as they that were the grounde appointed to bring furth fruit in aboundance. He did pray for them that they should be sanctified and confirmed in the veritie. The vertue of which praier is perpetuall, and at all tymes obteineth mercie in the presence of his Father's throne for his Electe. And lest that any doubte shoulde remaine, as that these graces were common to all the world, in plain and

Christ maketh a difference of one sort from another.

John 17.

What Christ did for his.

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expresse wordes he affirmeth, "That he prayed not for the world, but for those (saith he) whom thow hast geven unto me." If any deny a plane difference here to be made betwixt one sorte of men and another, I will pray to God to open his eies, that he (if God's good pleasure be) may see the light that so brightly shyneth. Other places for this present I omitte. For of these precedents, I suppose it be evident, that in the eternall counsel of God there was a difference of mankynd even before the creation, which by his own voice is most plainely declared to us in tyme.

Christe prayed not for the world.

Now to that objection which Pighius, that pestilent and perverse Papist, (and you all after him) doth make, to witt, that God did Predestinate according to the workes and faith which he foresawe to be in man. I might object to the contrary, that if Predestination procedeth from God's purpose and will (as the Apostle affirmeth it doth), that then the purpose and will of God being eternall, can not be moved by our workes or faith which be temporall. And that if the purpose of God be stable and sure, that then can not our workes, being unsure, be the cause thereof. But to avoid prolixitie and tediousnes, I will by plaine Scriptures prove, That of free grace did God electe; that of mere mercie doeth he call; and of his onelie goodnes, without all respect had to our dignitie, (as to be any cause first moving him) doeth he perfourme the worke of our salvation: And for the proofe of the same, let us take Abraham and his posteritie for example. Plaine it is, that he and his seed were preferred to all the nations of the earth; the benediction was established to spring frome them; the promise of the land of Canaan was made unto them; and so were they extolled to the honour and dignitie of God's peculiar people. But let us consider what either faith or obedience God found in them which might have moved him thus to preferre them to other nations. Let us heare Moises: "The Lord thy God (saieth he) hath chosen thee, that thow shouldest be a peculiare people to him, above all the peoples which are upon the face of

An Answere to the Papistical and pestilent Objection of Pighius and others his like.

Deut. 7

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the earth. God hath not so vehemently loved you, and chosen you, because you are mo in nombre then other nations, seing ye are fewer then all other people: but because he hath loved you, and wold kepe the othe which he made to your fathers."

Deut. 9. And after it foloweth: "Say not in thy heart, my power, my strength, and my hand have prepared this aboundance to me; and think not in thy heart, It is for my justice that the Lord hath broght me into this land." Of these places, it is plaine Moises leaveth no cause, neither of God's Election, neither yet of perfourmance of his promise in man, but establisheth it altogether upon God's free love and good pleasure. The same did

Josue 24. Josua, in that his last and most vehement exhortation to his people a little before his death, in which plainely he affirmeth, that Abraham and his father were idolaters before they were called by God; which place Ezechiel the Prophete most evidently declareth, rebuking the unthankfull defection of the Jewes from God, who of mercy had given them life, honour, and dignitie, they of all others being the most unworthy. For

Ezec. 16. he saieth: "Thus saieth the Lord God to Jerusalem, Thy habitation and thy kinred is of Canaan; thy father was an Amorrhean, and thy mother an Hittite: and in thy nativitie, when thow wast born thy navill was not cutt, thow was not washed with water to soften thee; thow was not salted with salt, neither yet was thow swadled in clowtes." By the which the Prophete signifieth that all was imperfect, all was filthie, all was corrupt and stinking as touching their nature. He procedeth: "None eie pitied thee, to do any of these unto thee, for to have compassion upon thee; but thou wast cast oute in the open field, to the contempt of thy person, in the day that thow wast borne. And when I passed by thee, I saw thee polluted in thine own blood, and I said unto thee, when thou wast in thy blood (that is in thy filthie sinnes), Thou shalt live;" and this he repeteth, to the end that he may beat it more depely in their myndes: "I (saieth the Lord) said unto thee, being in thy blood, Thou shalt live." And so he procedeth, de-

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elaring how that God did multiply them, did give unto them beautie, strength, honour, and dignitie. These three places do plainely witnes what perfection God did find in this people whom thus he did preferre to all others; and what obedience did they render unto him after the vocation of Abraham, the whole histories do witnes. For perfection and obedience was not found in Abraham himself, yea, neither in Moises nor in Aaron, but contrarie wise; the inobedience of all we find noted, to the same end that Moises hath before spoken, to witt, that none shall boast that either justice proceding or folowing was the cause why God did choose and elect that people. For how shall God choose for that which the Holie Ghost plainely denieth to be in any man descending of the corrupt seed of Adam. For Isaiah plainely doeth affirme, that all our justice[1] is as a clothe most polluted and spotted. If our justice be polluted, as the Prophete affirmeth it to be, and God did predestinate us for our justice, what foloweth, but that God did predestinate us for that which was filthy and imperfecte? But God forbid that such cogitations shoulde take place in our heartes! God did choose us in his eternall purpose, for his owne glorie to be manifested in us; and that he did in Christ Jesus, in whom onely is oure full perfection (as before we have said).

God did not for our workes Predestinate us.

But let us yet heare some testimonies of the New Testament. St Paul, to his disciple Timothie, saieth, "Be not ashamed of the testimonie of our Lord; neither be thow ashamed of me who am his prisoner; but be thow partaker of the afflictions of the Evangile, according to the power of God, who hath made us safe, and hath called us with an holie vocation, not according to our workes, but according to his purpose and free grace, which was given to us by Christe Jesus before all tymes; but now is made patent by the appering of our Saviour Jesus Christe." Here plaine it is, that neither are we called, neither yet saved, by workes, much less can we be predestinate for them, or in respect of them. Trew it is, that God hath prepared

2 Tim. 1.

[1] "Justice," righteousness.

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good workes, that we should walk in them; but like trew it is, that first must the tree be good, before it bring furth good fruite; and good can never the tree be, except that the hand of the gardiner have planted it. To use herein the plaine wordes of Saint Paule, he witnesseth that we are elected in Christ, to the end that we should be holie and without blemishe. Now, seing that good workes spring furth of election, how can any man be so foolish as to affirme that they are the cause of the same? Can the streame of water, flowing from the fountaine, be the cause of the originall spring? I think no man will so holde nor affirme. Even so it is in this mater, for faith and a godlie life that ensueth our vocation, are the faultes proceding from oure election, but are not the causes of the same. And therefor the Apostle, to beat downe all pryde, asketh, "What hast thow, O man, which thow hast not receaved? And if thou hast received it, why gloriest thow, as thogh thow hadst not receaved it?"

Question.

1 Cor. 4.

The Apostle in that place speaketh not of one or two graces, but whatsoever is necessarie to salvation, that he affirmeth to be receaved, and that of free grace; as he yet more plainely doeth witnes, saying, "Of grace are ye saved, by faith, and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God, and not of works, lest any should glorie." Now if man hath nothing but that which he receaveth of grace, of free gift, of favour, and mercie, what odious pryde and horrible unthankfulnes is this, that man shall imagine that for his faith and for his workes, God did Electe and Predestinate him to that dignitie? Even as if two or three beggers, chosen from the nomber of many, were, of the liberall mercie of a Prince, promoted to honour, should after brag and boast that their good service was the cause that the Prince did choose them. Shall not everie wise man mocke their vanitie? Yea, might not the Prince justly deprive them for their arrogant unthankfulnes? Might not the Prince have left them in their wretched estate? And what then should have become of their service? Is it not even

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so with man, lost in Adam! (whose fall, in God's prescience and purpose, was before his creation), of which masse or lompe God, of his owne free grace, did choose and predestinate vessels of his mercie prepared unto glorie, that they should be holie, as before is said. Shall these then that find mercie to worke good workes boast as thogh workes were the cause thereof! God forbid! For if the posteritie of Adam did not obteine the inheritance of the land of Canaan for any justice that was in them; yea, if God did not choose them to the temporall nor eternal felicitie, but of love and free grace onely, as Moises doth witnes, how shall we think that the eternall inheritance, or God's Election to the joy and life everlasting, dependeth upon any qualitie within us! Wonder it is, that the Apostle Sainct Paul, intreating this mater of God's free Election, was ignorant of this cause, if it be sufficient. For by that meanes, in few wordes, he might have put silence to many dogges, which then (as men do now) barked against this doctrine. For if he had said, God hath chosen afore all tymes, to the participation of life, a certein nomber, because he foresaw that they should be faithfull, obedient to his commandements, and holie in conversation; and upon the other parte, he hath rejected and reprobate others, because he foresaw that they should be unfaithfull, disobedient, and unclean of life; this, I say, (if those causes had bene sufficient) had bene a sensible maner of doctrine. But the Apostle alledgeth no such reason, but first beateth doune the pryde of man (as before we have touched), and thereafter bursteth furth in this exclamation: "O, the height of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God, how incomprehensible are his judgements, and how unsearcheable are his wayes!" This exclamation, I say, had bene vain, if either workes or faith foresene had bene the cause of God's Election.

Saint Augustin doeth mock the sharpe sight of men, that in his daies began to see more depely then did the Holie Ghost, speaking in the Apostle. And we fear not to affirme, that

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the men which this day do attribute Election or Predestination to any vertue or qualitie within man, do holde and defend (to their greate danger) that which none, indued with the Spirite of God, hath left to us written within the holie Scriptures, either yet that any of the chosen shall confess in their greatest glorie. Let the whole Scriptures be red and diligently marked, and no sentence (rightly understand) shalbe founde, that affirmeth God to have chosen us in respect of our workes, or because he foresawe that we should be faithfull, holie, and just. But to the contrarie, many places shall we finde (yea, even so many as intreat of that mater) that plainely affirme, that we are freely chosen according to the purpose of his good will, and that in Christ Jesus.

And what shall be the confession of the whole bodie assembled, when they shall receave the promissed glorie, is expressed in these wordes of the foure and twentie elders, who, casting their crownes before Him that sitteth upon the throne, do say, "Worthy art thow, O Lord and our God, to take honour, and glorie, and power, for thow hast created all thinges, and by thy will they are and were created." And after, they fall before the Lambe, and sing a new song, saying, "Worthie art thow to take the book, and to open the seales thereof: for thow wast killed, and hast redemed us to God by thy bloode; and hast made us to our God, kinges and priestes: and we shall reigne upon the earth." No mention is here made of any worthines of man; the creation is geven to God, and that all thinges are in that perfecte state, which then the chosen shall possesse, is attributed to his will. The death of the Lambe is assigned to be the cause of the redemption, yea, of that great dignitie to which they are promoted. I am fully persuaded, that if any cause of God's Election, and of the fruite proceding of the same, were or could be in man, that the Holie Ghost, who is authour of all justice, wold not have defrauded man of any thing which of right did appertein unto him But seing that in no place the Holie Ghost doeth attribute any

Apoca. 4 & 5.

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parte of mannes salvation to his owne merites or worthines, I fear not to affirme, that this pestilent opinion is the instigation of Sathan, laboring by all meanes to obscure the glorie of Christ Jesus, and to retein man in bondage, whom he infected with that first venom which he made him to drink, saying, "Ye shall be as gods."

A brief rehearsal what is before sufficiently proved.

Thus far with such plain simplicitie (as it pleased God to minister unto me for the tyme) I have proved, that God's Election is eternal, that it is stable, that he hath made a difference betwixt one sort of men and another, which difference, althogh it came to knowledge of man in tyme, yet was it in God's purpose and counsel before all tyme, no less then his creation was. And last, that God's Election dependeth neither upon our workes nor upon our faith, but procedeth from his eternal wisdom, mercie, and goodnes, and therefor is it immutable and constant.

Now shortly will I go throughe (if God permit me) the reasons of your booke, noting upon the one parte the imperfections of the same, and upon the other your ignorance, or els malice, in corrupting the Scriptures.

The Adversarie.

The 5th Section.

To prove this similitude good, and to shew how much his love towards his children excedeth the love of all creatures towardes their birthes, he saieth, "Can a woman forget the childe of her wombe, and not pitie the same whom she hath borne? And thogh she do forget it, yet I will not forget thee." Here he speaketh not only to the Elect (as some say), but also to them which did forsake and dispyse him, as there, "Alas! for these disobedient children (saieth the Lord) that they will take counsell without me." Here he calleth the wicked, which heape sinne upon sinne, and were disobedient, his children. Christ saieth, "If ye when ye are evill can give your children good giftes, how much more your heavenlie Father?" After the same maner may I reason with you (Careleese by Necessitie), if none of you, thogh ye be evill, wold beget a child to miserie, how much less wold God, which is all good, beget and creat man, his own image, to perpetual paynes? Here we may see how much this naughtie opinion is contrarie to nature and to reason; and that it is contrarie to the Worde, God willing, I will prove. If God hath ordeyned the most part of the world to be damned, then were his wrath greater then his

Isaia 49.

Isaia. 30.

Matt. 7.

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Psal. 145. mercie. But the Scripture witnesseth, "That his mercie is over all his workes; and that God is slow unto wrath and redie unto mercie, so that his wrath is extended onely to the third and fourth generation, but his mercie to
Esaia. 51. the thousand generation:" "Wherefor thus (saith he), a litle while I have forsaken thee; but with greate mercifulnes shall I take thee up unto me. When I was angrie I hid my face from thee for a litle season; but throughe
Psal. 30. everlasting mercie have I pardoned thee." And David saieth, "His wrath indureth but the twinkling of an eie, and his pleasure is in life; heviness may well endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning." And so Moises called him "A mercifull and gracious God, long suffering, and keeping mercie in store for thousandes." By these Scriptures and many mo, it is evident that God's mercie is greater then his wrath, contrarie to their sainges.

Answer.

How blasphemous be your similitudes yourself may consider, if malice have not utterly blinded you, for I have allredie proved that God is not bound to the lawes and boundes of nature; and how shamefully ye do abuse the Scriptures which ye alledge, fewe wordes shall declare. Ye deny that God
Isaiah 49. doeth speake here to his Elect in the place of Isaiah the Prophete, but to all men in generall, and even to those that had forsaken him, as ye wold seme to prove by the wordes of the
Isaiah 30. same Prophete, spoken before in his thirtie chapiter. First, I say, that those two places do no more agree, then do those wordes of Christ spoken after his resurrection: "Go to my brethren and tell them, I passe up to my Father, and unto your Father, and unto my God, and unto your God;" and those which he spake before his death against Capernaum, Bethsaida, and Corosaim, or unto Jerusalem, against whom he pronounced woe and malediction, becaus they did not know the tyme of their visitation. For in the former place, God speaketh to Syon, which long had bene waist, and to his people, which long had bene oppressed. And to the end, that the reader may better understand how deceitfully ye withdraw and steall the wordes which explain the whole mater, I will bring
Isaia. 49. furth the wordes of the Prophete: "Rejoise (saith he), O heavens; and rejoice thow earth; O you mountanes brest you

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furth in gladnes: for the Eternall hath conforted his people, and shall have mercy upon his poore ones. Syon hath said, The Lord hath left me, and my Lord hath forgotten me. May a woman forgett her child, that she shall not have compassion upon the sonne of hir bosome! But let it be that they forget, nevertheless I shall not forget thee: for lo, in these my two handes have I engrafted thee; and thy walles are for ever before me." If these confortable wordes were spoken in generall to all men (as ye affirme), let indifferent men judge. If all men were Sion, that long had lyen desolate; if all were his people, that long had bene oppressed, in the captivitie of Babylon; if all did so complaine, that they thoght God to have forgotten his leaguo and promise, which of mercie he made with them; and finally, if all have this promise, that their deliverence is joined with God's infinite power, then is your application to be approved: But if God did make a plaine difference betwixt Israel and all nations in the earth; if he had chosen his habitation in Syon, and if He will kepe promise with the afflicted for his own name's sake, be they never so unworthie, then are ye too bolde to give the honor and prerogative of the children and heires to strangers and bastards. The wordes which ye alledge of the thirtie chapter make nothing for your purpose; for albeit he speaketh to those that were inobedient, yea, that were treasonable traitours, yet had they the name, the title, yea, the honour and dignitie of God's people; and among them were some of God's chosen children, for whose comfort (after long affliction susteined in Babylon) were those other wordes spoken. And so, except that ye be able to prove, that the people of Israel and the citie of Jerusalem had no greater prerogative, even in the time of their greatest blindnes and unthankfulnes, (before the comming of Christ Jesus in the flesh), then had other nations, ye conclude nothing.

But yet wonder it is, that ye can make no difference betwixt the tymes in which the one wordes and the other were spoken. The wo was pronounced (you say, "Alas!" which

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the text hath not) against them, what tyme they had declined from God, when they toke counsel of themselves when they could not abide the admonitions of the Prophetes; but the comfortable promise of delyverance was made after that vengeance was powred furth upon the proude contemners, and after that the whole bodie was sore tormented by great oppression and long imprisonment. Do ye not think that their might be great alteration in that people within the space of an hundreth yeres? for so long was it betwixt the daies of the Prophete and the daies of their last captivitie under Nabucadnezer, after which tyme also did this former promise of God's remembrance of them onely take place. Might not the one be spoken of those which should be punished (yea, let it be that they were the reprobate), and the other to the people of God, to whom by his own holines he had promised deliverance? Do ye thinke, that because the same Prophet speaketh bothe the sentences, that therefor they do appertein to one estate and condition of people? I have proved the contrary by Christes plain wordes. For his mouth pronounced destruction against Jerusalem, and yet sendeth he the joyfull tydings of his resurrection to his Disciples, with that most singular comfort, that God remained unto them both God and Father. And even so doeth our Prophete Isaiah: for in the one place he speaketh to the obstinate contemners, but in the other place he speaketh to the afflicted children. Wey, I besech you, the Scriptures
Matt. 7. of God with greater reverence. The wordes of Christ ye likewise falsifie; for he speaketh not of any common love which he beareth to all men, but affirmeth, that our heavenlie Father
Luc. 11. giveth good thinges, or, as Lucas affirmeth, giveth the Holie Ghost to such as aske of him. Ye must prove first, that all aske in faith, and according to his will (which be the peculiar prerogatives of the children of God), before that Christes wordes can serve for your generall multitude; either yet that you shall thereof be able to prove that God loveth all men alike.

Ye take your pleasure in reasoning with us, whom ye terme

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Careless by Necessitie. I will not recompence railing with railing, but I pray God that thow (the Writer of this book) shew hereafter greater diligence in godlynes, then of many daies thow hast done wheresoever thow hast hanted. We use not to subject God to our corrupt affections, but with reverence and fear we leave to his godlie wisdom the ordering of his creatures; neither yet can you be able to prove, that we either by word or writing have affirmed, That the principall end of any mannes creation was perpetuall paine. But we affirme, as before we have declared, That God for himself, and for the manifestation of his own glorie, hath created all thinges. But of this we must after more largely speake.

The finall conclusion which ye collecte of Nature is, that God hath created none to miserie nor pain. For that your Master Castalio feareth not most blasphemously to affirme, saying, "That if he hath so done, he is more crewell then any wolfe." The Blasphemy of Anabaptistes. O heaven and earth! revenge this blasphemie.

That man, which here suffereth miserie and much calamitie, yea, and that also shalbe adjudged to the fyre inextinguible, is created of God, or (as you affirme) is the birth of God, I suppose yourselves will not deny. And that he suffereth all miseries of God's just judgements, and by his will expressed in his worde, the Scripture beareth record. For God saieth to the woman, "In sorrow and dolor shalt thou beare thy children:" to the man, "In the sweate of thy face shalt thow eate thy bread;" and also, "Cursed is the earth for thy sake." Which (and many mo places) plainely witnes, that God hath inflicted pain upon man whom he hath created. You answere, "that did God for the sin of man," I confesse; but yet is your foot fast in the snare. For after sin, man ceased not to be the creature and (as ye will terme him) the birth of God. If then God be subject to the law of Nature (as before we have said, and now agane repeate, that your vanitie and ignorance may the more appeare), so that he is bounde to do the self same thing to his birthes, that Nature moveth us to do to our children: I ask Gen. 3.

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first, Why did God suffer man created to his own image to fall into sin? Assuredly no natural father will wittingly and willingly suffer his children to fall into a pit or dongeon to destruction. And secondarely I aske, Why did not God (who is omnipotent, having all wisdom and goodnes) provyde another medicine for man, then by death to overcome so many miseries? Thirdly, If God wold that none shoulde be borne to miserie, why did he not clearly purge the nature of Adam, why did he not stay that venom and corruption in our first father, why did he permitt it to infect all his posteritie? There is no shift that here can serve you. For if you say, God was provoked by the sinnes of the posteritie, which he did foresee to be in them, so to do: I answer, That he foresaw nothing which his eternall and infinit power might not have removed and remedied, if so had pleased his godlie wisdom. For then, as now, was he the God who alone may do whatsoever He will in heaven and in earth. And further, I say, that the fountain being shut up, the flowing of sin by natural propagation should have ceased. To God's permission we shall after answer.

To put end to this matter: if ye consider nothing els in the great varietie of God's workes but the onely miserie of the sufferer, and sin, which we denie not to be a cause of the same, ye have no better profited in the schoole of Christ then had the Disciples, when seing him that was born blind, they demanded this question, "Master (say they), who hath sinned, whether this man or his parents, that he should be born blind?" No other cause did they see of his miserie but sin. And to them it was strange that any man could sin so grevously before he was borne, that for the same he should be punished with perpetuall blindnes during his life. And that he should suffer such miserie for the offences of his parentes appered to them to repugne to God's justice, and to that sentence which before he had pronounced by the Prophete Ezechiel, affirming, "That the son should not beare the iniquitie of the father." But Christ Jesus, in correcting their error, giveth to you a profitable lesson, if ye can

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receave it, affirming, "That neither he, neither yet his parents, had sinned that so he should be borne, but that the glorie of God should be manifested in him." If God's glorie be declared, and made manifest, even by the miseries which some creatures sustein, dare you therefor accuse God of creweltie? Consider your bold foolishnes, and repent your blasphemies before that vengeance strike.

After that ye have concluded, as you thinke, our opinion to be naughtie, by arguments drawn from Nature, you make a bold promise to prove the same by plain Scriptures: and yet your first entrance is but by a reason not well-grounded upon these Scriptures which ye alledge. Thus ye write: "If God hath Ordeined the most part of the world to perdition, then were his wrath greater then his mercie: but the Scripture witnesseth that his mercie is over all his creatures:" *Ergo*, will ye conclude, "He hath not created the most part of the world to perdition." To prove that God's mercie is greater then his wrath, ye bring furth the wordes of David, Psalms 30 and 145, Isaiah 54, and of God himself proclaming his own name unto Moises; for these wordes are not the wordes of Moises (as ye alledge), but were spoken by God himself in the eares of Moises.

To the Major I have answered before, That falsly ye burden us, that we affirme that God hath Ordeined the most parte of the world to perdition; for we presume not to define what nombre God shall save, and how many he shall justly condemne; but with reverence we do referre judgement to Him who is the universall Creator; whose goodnes and wisdom is such that he can do nothing but wisely; and whose justice is so perfect, that his workes are exempted from the judgement of all creatures. But the second part, affirmyng, That if God condemne mo then he shall save, that then his wrath is greater then his mercie, is so irreverent, so bold, and blasphemous, that scarcely coulde I have thoght that the Devill himself could have imagined a more manifest blasphemie. Who hath given the balance into

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thy handes, (I speak to the most blasphemous Writer) to ponder and wey God's mercie and wrath, after thy corrupt judgement? If thow claimest the helpe of these former Scriptures, they prove no more that which thow pretendest, then if thow shouldest affirm, that God shall save the Devill because his mercie is above all his creatures. We do not deny but that the most wicked men are participant of God's mercie in temporall felicitie, (yea, and that farre above his chosen children); that he maketh his sun to shyne upon the good and bad; that with long suffering he calleth them to repentance, and delaieth their most just condemnation. But what wilt thow hereof conclude? that God hath ordeined mo to salvation then to perdition, or els is his wrath greater then his mercie? Blasphemous mouth! who hath taught thee to appoint a law to God! The day shall come, if spedelie thow repent not, that thow shalt feele what punishment is due to such as go aboute to bring the eternal God and his incomprehensible judgements under the thraldom of their corrupt reason.

But leaving thee, I return to those whom gladly I wold instruct, and to them I say, that the wordes of David and of Isaiah do speake of that rich and inestimable mercie which God laieth up in store for his chosen children, to whom althogh God somtymes shew himself severe and angry, yet indureth that but for a short space; but his mercie is everlasting, and his goodnes infinit, by the which he marieth his chosen children to himself for ever; and whether that these wordes be onely spoken to the Elect, or els that they be generally spoken to all, let the Holie Ghost decyde the controversie. After that David had affirmed that God is liberall, mercifull, patient, and of great gentilnes; and also, that he is good to all, and that his mercie is over all his workes; that the eies of all creatures look upon him, and that he is just in all his workes: By which sentences he praiseth the goodnes, the mercie, and the providence of God in the regiment and governement of his universall creation; which goodnes and mercie do

Psal. 145.

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so abounde, that the innumerable iniquities of mankind and his detestable ingratitude can not utterly hinder the same from the creatures. After these common mercies, I say, whereof the reprobate are often partakers, he openeth the treasure of his riche mercies, which are kept in Christ Jesus for his Elect, saying, "The Lord is nigh to all that call upon him, to all that call upon him in veritie; he doeth the will of those that fear him, and he heareth their crie and saveth them. The Lord kepeth all those that love him, but he destroieth all the wicked." Such as willingly delite not in blindnes may clerely see that the Holie Ghost maketh a plaine difference betwixt the graces and mercies which be common to all, and that soveraign mercie which is immutably reserved to the chosen children; and further, that the Lord himself shall destroy the wicked, albeit his mercie be over all his workes. And so that mercie by the which God pronounceth to gather his Church is everlasting, and is not common to the reprobate, but is onely proper to the flocke of Christ Jesus. The wordes of God spoken unto Moises do no more serve your purpose then do the other. For God in his law expressedly doeth witnes to whom it is that he will shew mercie to thousandes; to witt, "to those that love him and kepe his commandements;" and upon whom will he prosecute the iniquitie? "unto the third and fourth generation, upon those (saieth he) that hate me." If hereof ye conclude, that his mercie towardes all is greater then his wrath, ye conclude amiss. For ye confound those whom God hath separated and devided; he promiseth mercie to the thousand generation of those that love him, and threatneth to punishe the iniquitie of the fathers, to the third and fourthe generation, upon those that hate him. Hereof justly ye can no further conclude, but that the mercie of God is greater towardes those that love him, then his wrath against those that hate him. And so far will we confess with you; but if you abide in your Error, concluding, as you plainely do in this your booke, that the wrathe of God must be greater then his mercie, except that he save mo then

Note the plain difference.

Exod. 20.

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shall be condemned (as some of your Sectes hath lately affirmed), we fear not to affirme that your blasphemie is intollerable. Or if you think (as some alledge upon Origene) that becaus God's mercie is infinite, and extendeth unto all his workes, that therefor the reprobate can not but once obtein mercie, the plain Scripture convicteth you. For it affirmeth, that the wrath of God abydeth upon the unfaithfull; that their fyre shall not be quenched, and that their worme shall not die. If ye shall understand, that the Elect hath nothing which they receave not of mercie, and that the punishment of the reprobate is most justly deserved, you shall not measure God's mercie and his wrath by the multitude nor by the nomber, but ye oght to consider, that where none is worthie of God's mercies by their own merits, yet hath it continued from the beginning, and shal continue unto the end, ever extending the self to God's children being in miserie; and so this mercie must far surmount all wrath and judgement. For where the wraith of God, once kindled against sinne, oght to have consumed and devoured all, mercie prevaleth, and delyvereth those that justly might have bene condemned. And in this sense say we that God's mercie far surmounteth his judgements; which interpretation if you admit not, we will send you to reason with God, and to impugne the same, if you be able, by manifest Scriptures. Now to the rest.

How God's mercy is greater then his wrath.

THE 6TH SECTION.

THE ADVERSARIE.

Of all sortes and sectes of men, I have judged them to be most abhorred which are called Athei,[1] that is to say, such as denie that there is any God.

1. But now me think these Carelesse Men are much more to be abhorred: my
2. reason is, Because they be more injurious to God then the Athey;[2] for he is less injurious to a man that beleveth that he is not, then he which calleth him a cruel man, a tyrant, and an unjust person; so are they less injurious to God which beleve that he is not, then they which say he is unmercifull, cruel, and
3. an oppressor. Now, what greater crueltie, tyrannie, and oppression can be,
4. then to creat the most part of the world to everlasting damnation; so that by

[1&2] "Athei," "Athey," in edit. 1591 "Atheists."

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no maner of mean they can escaip and avoid the cruell decree and sentence against them. Seing the Philosopher Plato judged them unworthie to live and to be suffered in any common welth which spake evill of God, what ought our judgements to be of such men which have so wicked an opinion of God? Whatsoever our judgement be of them, and whatsoever their deserving be, let us labore rather to win them then to lose them. But forasmuch as he which toucheth pitche is in danger to be defiled therewith, therefor ought we to walk warely with such men, that we be not defyled and infected of them. Specially, seing that now-a-daies this horrible doctrine doeth freate even as the disease of a canker, which infecte from one membre to an other, untill it hath occupied the whole bodie without it be cut away; even so this Error hath alredie infected from one to another a greate nombre. The Lord grante them the true meaning and understanding of his Worde, whereby they may be healed and the sicknes cut of, the membre being saved. 5. 6.

ANSWER.

Because that in all this your long discourse, ye more shew your malice (which unjustly against us ye have conceaved) then that either ye oppugne our beleif, either yet promote your fals opinion, I will not spend the tyme to recompence your dispite. Onely this I will offer in the name of all my brethren, That if you be able, in presence of a lawfull judge and magistrate, evidently to convict us that either we speak evill of God, either yet that by our writinges, preaching, or reasoning, it justly can be proved that our opinion is evill of his Eternall majestie, power, wisdom, and goodnes, that then we refuse not to suffer the same punishment which you by the auctoritie of Plato judge us worthy of. Yea, we further offer ourselves willingly to underlie the very death which God by his law hath appointed to all blasphemers, provided that you refuse not to underlie the same penaltie if falsly ye accuse us. What is your studie to win us, and whether our doctrine be horrible error or not, I do not now dispute. Thus you reason: To the 1. To the 2, 3, 4, & 5. Deut. 13. To the 6.

THE ADVERSARIE.

THE 7TH SECTION.

God created man a very good thing: and dare you say that God ordeined a very good thing to destruction? Then God deliteth in the destruction of that which is verie good. Man at his creation was a just and innocent crea- 1.

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ture; for afore the transgression, there was no evill neither in Adam nor in
2 us. And think you that God ordeined his just and innocent creatures to condemnation? What greater tyrannie and unrighteousnes can the most wicked man in the world, yea, the Devil himself do, then to condemne the innocent and just person? Hereby may we see that these Careless Men be more abo-
3 minable then the Athei, which beleve there is no God. But these affirme God to be as bad as the Devil, yea, and worse; forasmuch, as the Devil can onely tempt a man to death, but he can compell none to fall unto condemnation; but God may not onely tempt, but also compell by his eternall decre the most part of the world to damnation. And hath so done (as they say), so that of necessitie, and onely because it was his pleasure and will. Then must God be worse then the Devil. For the Devil onely tempted men to fall, but God compelleth them to fall by his immutable decree. Oh, horrible blasphemie!

ANSWER.

Becaus that before, plainely and simply, I have declared our judgement of God's eternall Election, and most just Reprobation in all these your dispitefull arguments, I will onely shew your malice, ignorance, and proude vanitie. This is your argu-
To the 1, 2, & 3. ment: "God created man a verie good thing, therefor he did not ordein him to destruction." Your reason is, "for it is contrarie to his justice to ordein a good thing to destruction." I answere, if ye be able to prove that man stoode in the same goodnes, perfection, and innocencie (he and his posteritie whome so hieghly ye praise) in the which he was first created, then will I confesse your argument to be good. But if man (albeit he was created good) did yet willingly make himself evill, how can it be contrarie to the justice of God to appoint punishement for transgression, which he did not onely forsee by an idle speculation, or yet suffre and permitt against his omnipotent will, but in his eternall counsall, for the manifestation of his own glory, had decreed the same. Against which, albeit ye cry horrible blasphemie till your braines drop out, yet have we Moises, Exodus 9, Isaiah 6, Salomon, and Paul, to absolve us from your cruell sentence. For they do affirme, that God hath created all thinges for his own glorie, and the wicked to the day of destruction; that he raised up Pharao, that his power

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might be shewen furth in him; that he blindeth the eies and hardeneth the heartes of some, so that they can neither heare nor see that they may convert; that God hath prepared bothe vessels of mercie and vessels of wraith. Which places, albeit some of them seeme not to apertein to the creation, yet if they be justly weyed, it shall evidently appere that the hardnes of mennes heartes, their blindnes and stubborn malice, are not onely punishments of sinne, but also are the effects of Reprobation, like as faith, obedience, and other vertues be the free giftes of God geven in Christ Jesus to those whom he hath Elected in him. But yet to your argument, which thus ye amplifie: "Do ye think that God ordeined his just and innocent creatures to damnation? What greater tyrannie and unrighteousnes can the most wicked man in the earth, yea, the Devil himself do, then to condemne a just and an innocent person?"

Blindnes and hardnes of hart are effectes of Reprobation.

I answer (as before) that your argument is nought worthe, for you conclude more then ye be able to prove of your two former propositions, which be those: "God created man a verie good thing;" trew it is. "And God reprobated man, and shall also condemne him whom he created good;" I grant also. "Therefor he damned the good thing which he created, or that thing which is verie good:" I deny the conclusion. For before damnation there cometh a change in man; so that he of verie good became extreme evill, and so God's just judgements found nothing but that which is evill to condemne. You forme your reason as that God had so created man good, that he by no meanes after could be made evill; which last part is fals, and so you are deceaved. If ye can not see just causes why God should make that thing verie good which after should becom extreme evill, accuse your own blindnes; and desire of God, to repress in you that presumption and pryde which against the eternall Sonne of God you have conceaved; and so your eyes shalbe illuminated, and you shall see, first, that becaus the Creator is infinitely good, that therefor it behoveth the creatures in their original creation to be good. And so I doubte not was

Why God created man good whom he ordeyned nevertheles to fall.

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the Devil created good, but in the veritie he stood not. And secondarely, that because the just judgements of God were no less to shyne in the damnation of the reprobat, then his infinite mercie was to be praised in the vessels of honor, it behoved the one and the other to be innocent and good in their creation. For if the original had bene evill, God justly could not have after damned that which he had made no better; but so we must confesse, that it was good that (yet willingly corrupting the self) man made a way to the most just execution of God's eternall counsell. And last, that the eternall purpose of God might in tyme be notified unto man, which was that God wold bestow greater liberalitie, shew greater love and mercie in the redemption of man justly damned, then that he did in his creation. Of nothing he did creat him (for his corporall substance was made of the dust), which sometymes was not to his own image and similitude; to him he gave the dominion of all creatures; these were documents of a true love. But if they be compared with that love which in Christ Jesus we receive, and that of free grace, they are nothing. For what is the dominion of earthlie creatures in respect that we shall reigne with Christ Jesus for ever? What were the pleasures and fruites of Paradise in comparison of those heavenlie joyes which Sainct Paul affirmeth can not enter in to the heart of man? If man had stand perpetually in Adam, neither had the love of God so wonderously beene notified unto us; neither yet had place bene granted to his free grace and mercie which we receive in Christ Jesus; for mercy properly hath respect to miserie. But the cheif comfort of God's children is, that as they fell in Adam, so are they new transferred in another; that is in Christ Jesus, to whom they are given, and who (as before we have proved) hath so receaved them from the hand of his Father, that he shall give life everlasting to so many as the Father hath given him. If ye, I say, can not admitt these reasons, why it behoved man to be created good, and yet after to fall in to sin and miserie, accuse yourselves, storm not against God, for he will

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not be subject to your reason and judgements. Your horrible blasphemies against God, and your dispitefull railing against us, at this tyme I will omitt. And how impudently ye leap from the purpose of God's reprobation to the execution of his judgement, shalbe spoken in weying this your reason, which thus foloweth:

The Adversarie.

The 8th Sectio.

The Scripture witnesseth that we did fall in Adam. For damnation cam of one sinne unto condemnation; then did we all stand afore in Adam, for none falleth but he that standeth. If we did all stand, then were we all Predestinate to life; for as our fall here is to damnation and death, so is our standing unto salvation and life. And to confirme this, we have many testimonies in the Word, which prove us to be Elected, Chosen, and Predestinat to life afore the fall, but none that prove any man to be abjected, cast away, damned, and reprobate afore sinne, by which death entred into the world. Paul to the Ephesians saieth, "God did choose us in Christe before the foundations of the world were laid, and ordeined us before through him to be heires unto himself, and were therunto Predestinat." I pray you, shew me any testimonie of the Scripture which so manifestly proveth that God hath reprobate any before the foundations of the world. God hath no respect of persons: "For he calleth the world from the rising up of the sun unto the going downe of the same." "He made bothe small and great, and careth for bothe alike, for they be all the work of his hands." And Esdras saieth, "It was not God's will that man should come to nought, but he prepared life for them." The Holie Ghost saieth, "That God hath not made death, neither hath he pleasure in the destruction of the living; for he created all things that they might have their being;" yea, all the people of the earth hath he made that they should have helthe, and their should be no destruction in them, and that the kingdom of hell should not be upon earth. What can be more plainely and more directly spoken against this error? In another place saieth the Holie Ghost, "God created man to be undestroyed:" and agane, "God ordained man that he should order the world according to equitie and righteousnes, and execute judgement with a true hearte:" Doth God ordein man to rule the world according to righteousnes whom he reprobated? "Do men gather grapes (as Christ saieth) of thornes and figges of thistles? Even so everie good tree bringeth furthe good fruites, but a corrupt tree bringeth furth evill fruite. A good tree can not bring furth badd fruit, neither can a badd tree bring furth good fruite." "Either make the tree good and the fruite good, or els the tree evill and his fruite evill." Either grant man at

1. Ephes. 1.
2. 8.
4. Psal. 49. Job 34.
4 Esdr 8.
5. Sapient. 2.
6. Saplen. 9.
7. Matth. 7. Matth. 12.

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his creation to be righteous and good, and then I think ye will abhorre to say, that God afore the foundations of the world did reprobate his good and righteous creature, or els grant him at his creation to be an evill and unrighteous creature. Could then righteous judgement come of such an unrighteous tree? Further, if man at his creation was an evill thing, then was he not the creature of God. For God sawe all that he had made, and they were verie good. If man at his creation, or afore, was reprobate, and ordeined unto death, then was man giltie afore the transgression; for God damned none but such as be gyltie. If he was giltie afore his transgression, then was he a sinner, being yet innocent and just afore he ever consenteth or committed sinne. And so consequently of this Error, I may inferre many mo such absurdities as should offend any faithfull mannes eares.

Answer.

As no man of whole judgement did ever denie that in Adam we did fall, so I think, you and your Sect set a part, there hath bene none that ever did affirme that in Adam we were Predestinat to life everlasting. True it is, that we stood in Adam, created in his loynes, but I suppose that ye will not hold that the children had greater priviledge then had the father. Adam did not so stand, but that he was subject to the law, the transgression whereof made him dettour to death. To speake the matter more plainely, Adam did so stand, that he might (and did) fall as the event declared; and were his children so Elect in him that they could not fall? So ye appere to conclude. For thus ye reason: "If we did all stand, then were we all Predestinate to life; for as our fall here is to damnation and death, so is our standing unto salvation and life." Assuredly these reasons appear mervelous strange to me, and principally that which ye bring furth of falling and standing: For it hath in the self plain contradiction; for if we fell in Adam to death, how can we stand in him now unto life. If you had said, as that our fall was to damnation and death, so should our standing have bene to salvation and life, ye might have had some probabilitie. For your error had onely stand in this, that ye do not consider that Adam was not created to stand for ever in himself, and much less his posteritie in him. But when ye say, as our fall is

The ground of the Anabaptistes error.

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to death, so is our standing unto life, you plainely speak whatsoever ye think, that yet either in Adam, either in ourselves, we both fall and stand. But this do we utterly abhorre, for we fear not plainely to confesse, that we have no assurance either of standing, either yet of life, but in Christ Jesus alone, in whom we be ingrafted, and without whom we can do nothing.

An argument which proveth that in Adam we could not stand.

In few wordes, to repeate the answer of your former objection, In Adam did no man stand otherwise then he did; but he did stand with a condition to fall, and that even to death: therefor in Adam did none stand to life. The common sense of man will approve the first part of this my argument, for who can think that any descending of Adam by his meanes could have greater libertie then he himself had? And the event and that which folowed declareth the veritie of the second part. For not onelie upon Adam, saieth the Apostle, came death, but even from him descended death unto all. How then could any stand in him to life, let reasonable men consider.

Answer to the Scriptures shamefully abused by the Adversaries.

To prove that all were Predestinat and chosen in Adam before the foundations of the world were laid, ye bring furth the testimony of Paul, written in the first chapter to the Ephesians, which we before have entreated, and therefor here I only will open your falshood. Wonder it is that shame should be so far past you, that where the Holie Ghost plainely affirmeth, that we were Elected and chosen in Christe Jesus before the foun- To the 2. dations of the world were laid, that this Election ye should affirm to be made in Adam. If you object that you specifie not Adam, I answer that is all alike; for of your former argumentes it easely may be espied whom ye understand. For when thus ye reason, We did all stand in Adam, *ergo*, we were all Predestinate to life, what is he that clearly may not perceave that your meaning is, that we were all predestinat to life in Adam, for els you had said nothing to prove your own purpose? For we affirm that we were elected before the foundation of the world was laid; but the controversie standeth, in

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whom? We affirme and most constantly beleve, that in Christ Jesus, the eternall Sonne of the eternall Father, were we Elected before all tymes. This ye can not abyde, and therefor ye seke all meanes to obscure the glorie of him to whom the Father hath geven all power in heaven and in earth. Somtymes ye say (as now I have declared) that this Election was made in Adam.

To the 8. But whill that this will not serve you, ye run to another shift, alledging that the Apostle speaketh here of a generall Election of the whole world, and not of any certen Election which should abyd for ever; and so in shifting from one danger ye fall into another, as after in examining of that your vain reason more evidently shall appere.

Ye instantly require, that we will shew any testimonie of the Scripture that hath reprobate any before the foundations of the world. If it be the pleasure of God to give unto you the spirite of wisdom and of revelation by the knowledge of himself, "that the eies of your mynd may be illuminated, that ye may know what is the hope to the which he hath called you, and how rich is the glorie of that inheritance which he hath prepared for his saintes," ye shall require no place more plaine nor more evident then the same, which most ignorantly, or els most maliciously ye do abuse. For if there be any difference betwixt the saintes, the faithfull that be blessed with all spirituall benediction, betwixt those, I say, that were Elected in Christe Jesus before all tymes, that in tyme be called, and by the power of the Holie Spirit do give obedience to the caller, and so "are made citizens with the saintes and household of God, as they that are builded upon the foundation of the Prophetes and Apostles." If any difference, I say, be betwixt these former and these in whom the prince of this world doeth worke all filthynes and rebellion, whom he holdeth captive at his pleasure, who can not repent their detestable lives, and therefor are reputed strangers from the commonwelth of Israel. And further, if ye will beleve Christ Jesus, affirming and re-

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joicing "that it pleased his Father to hyde the secretes of his kingdome from the prudent and wise, and to reveale the same to little ones," and that becaus it was his pleasure; I trust ye shall confesse that those Scriptures be plaine ynough to prove, that as some were Elected before the foundation of the world was laid, so likewise were there others reprobated, as the finall end of bothe doeth witnes. But how ye wrestle against this argument we shall after heare; and how plainely I have proved some to be Elected and others to be reprobated, reade before and judge with indifferencie. Matt. 11.

If ye will conclude, that God hath no certen Election, neither yet that he hath reprobated any, becaus that he hath no respect of persones, and becaus he calleth the world from the rising up of the sun to the going doune of the same; becaus he made both small and great, and careth (as ye falsly alledge) for bothe alike, your affirmation may well be bolde, but I think that your probation shalbe sclender. But first, I must except against you as against fals witnes; for you alledge more upon Elihu then in the book of Job he affirmeth. For he saieth not, that God careth for all alike, but saieth, that his eies are upon the waies of man, and that he doeth see all his goinges. And that neither you, neither any other, shall have occasion to complain of me, that unjustly I accuse you of falsifying the plain text, I will recite bothe the purpose and the wordes. Job, in vehemencie of disputation against his three frendes, who constantly did affirm that God, provoked by his sinnes, had powred furth those sodane and strange plagues upon him: Job, I say, in refelling this their accusation, and in confuting their reasons, did enter into the secretes of God's inscrutable judgements further then it became any creature to do, and did seme to burden God with injustice in defending his own innocencie. At which reasons Elihu, offended, after that the other three were put to silence, taking upon him to reprove Job, affirmeth that the wisdom, the power, the justice, and the judgementes of God were incomprehensible; that God could To the 4. The Adversarie wresteth the Scripture in Job.

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do nothing unjustly how that ever it appeared to mannes judge-
Job 34. ment; and amongest other thinges, he saieth, "Wilt thou say unto a King, Thou art wicked? or unto Princes, Ye are ungodlie? How muche les to Him that accepteth not the persons of Princes, and regardeth not the riche more then the poore, for they be all the worke of his handes? They shall dye sodenly, and the people shalbe trobled at midnight, and they shall passe furth and take away the mightie withoute hand, for his eies are upon the wayes of man, and he seeth all his goings."

Thus have I noted, partly that none shall think that these wordes may seme to favor your error, and partly that your untruethe in wrasting such places may more manifestly appere. Ignorance of the tongues may be some caus in you, but in some of you I can manifestly prove that malice blindeth knowledge, and compelleth you to speak and write against your understanding. God touche your heartes with true repentance, and give you his Holie Spirit with greater reverence to intreat his Scriptures. But now to the Scriptures that ye alledge, God,
Act. 10. say you, hath no respect of persons: *ergo*, will ye conclude, Ho hath no Election. Your conclusion is fals, and my reason is, because that God's free Election dependeth not upon the persones of men, but upon his own promise and good will.

An argument directly against the Adversaries argument. But to make this mater more sensible, I will make an argument directly against yours. God respecteth not the persons of men, but yet amongest men is found great diversitie bothe in vertue and in vice; therefor there must be some cause from whence this diversitie procedeth. Of the first part, I know ye doute not, and the second parte is confirmed by common experience and by evident Scriptures; for how diverse be the inclinations of men, none can be ignorant except such as do
Influence of the Sterres. not observe the same. Such as attribute the caus of such diversitie to the sterres and to the influence of the planetes,
Education. are more then vain. Education and upbringing doeth somwhat bow nature in that case, but neither of bothe is the cause of such diversitie; for how many have been norished in vertue

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togither, and yet have after fallen to moste horrible vices, and in the same perished! And contrarie wise, how many have bene wickedly broght up, and yet by grace atteined to an holie conversation? If the cause of this diversitie, I say, shalbe inquired and soght, it shall not be found in nature, for thereby were and are we all borne the sonnes of wraith; if in education and upbringing, we see how often that faileth. The cause thereof then must be of necessitie without man. To make the mater yet more plaine by an exemple: Paule preached Christ Jesus to be the onely Saviour of the world, both amongest the Jewes and Gentiles; to some his preaching was the savour of life, and to others it was the savour of death. From whence commeth this diversitie? From the obedience, will, and faith of the one, say you, and frome the stubborne inobedience and infidelitie of the other. You say somewhat, but not all, for true it is that faith and an obedient will is that which we call *Causam propinquam*, that is, the next cause to our apprehension. But what is the cause that the will of one is obedient, and the will of the other stubborne; that the one doeth beleve, and the other doeth blaspheme? Howsoever ye do shift, the Holie Ghost in many places plainely affirmeth the cause not to be in nature, nor yet to procede of man, nor of his free will, but to be the free grace of the caller, as Christ Jesus doeth witnes: "None can come unto me excepte my Father draw him: No man can see the kingdom of God except he be borne againe;" and that "neither of blood, neither of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God," who toucheth and openeth the heartes of so many as he hath ordeined to life, to adverte and beleve the thinges that he truely preached; as those that be the shepe of Christe Jesus, who heare his voice and know the same.

The cause is not in nature of our faithfull obedience.

These and many places mo, do most plainely declare what is the cause that some beleve and others beleve not, to witt, that some are born of God, and some are left in nature; some are shepe, and some are goates. The heartes of some are touched and opened by the finger and Spirit of God, as it was said to

What is the cause that some beleve, and some remayn unfaithfull.

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Peter, "Flesh and bloode hath not reveled this unto thee, but my Father which is in the heaven;" and the heartes of others ar left in their own blindnes and hardnes. If ye demand how is it then that God respecteth not the person of man? I answer, If ye did understand aright what is ment by acceptation of persons, or what it is to respect persons, ye should not doubte in this behalf.

How God respecteth not persons.

Acceptation of persons is when an unworthie person is preferred to a worthie, either by corrupt affection of those that do preferre him, either yet for some qualitie or externall beautie that appereth in man. As if to the office of a king or of a bishope, should one be elected that neither hath godlynes, knowledge, wisdom, not yet the spirit of governement, because he is riche, noble of bloode, fayre and lustie; and the persons having giftes much more excellent should be contemned; this is called acceptation of persons. As Samuel seing Eliab, and considering his beautie and stature, doeth boldly pronounce in his own heart, "Assuredly before the Lord this is his anointed." Such acceptation of persons is not with God; for neither looketh he to blood, riches, nobilitie, vertue, strength, nor beautie temporall in his eternall Election, but onely to his own good will and eternall purpose, by the which he hath elected us in Christe Jesus. If ye shall consider the same place deepely, ye shall find that none within the whole Scriptures of God more confuteth your Error then it doeth. For as God respecteth not the person of man, so respecteth he nothing that is or can be within man as the cheif cause of his Election. For what can God foresee, consider, or know, to be in man that good is, which floweth not from his free mercie and goodnes, as it is written, "We are not sufficient of ourselves to think any thing that good is, but all our sufficiencie is of God, who worketh in us bothe to will and performe." Then, if all vertue whatsoever be in us be the work of God, can the work folowing be the cause of God's eternall purpose? If the cause and the effects proceding of the same be things diverse, then are our vertues

1 Sa. 16.

That God hath not respect of persons, most evidently confuteth the Error of the Adversaries of God's Predestination.

The cause and effect are diverse.

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and fruites not the cause of God's Election, but are the effect and fruit which of the same procede and spring, as the Apostle doeth witnes, saieng, "God hath chosen us that we should be holie and without blame." And Christ Jesus saieth, "You have not chosen me, but I have chosen you, and have appointed you to go and to bring furth fruite."

This I am compelled oft to repeate, becaus in it most shamefully ye erre, arrogating to yourselves that which is proper to God's onely mercie and free grace. If you understand this former place of Scripture, which affirmeth that God hath no respect of persons, as your book doeth witnes, to witt, that God careth alike for all, that he no more loveth the one then the other, except that it be for their obedience, the whole Scripture of God doeth witnes against you. Was the love of God no greater to Abraham and to his posteritie, then it was to the rest of the nations? Moises and David do witnesse the contrarie, saying, "He hath not done so to any nation, and his judgements he hath not shewed to them; onely thee hath he chosen of all nations and people that be upon the face of the earth, that thow shouldest be unto him a peculiar people." And what was the cause of this their dignitie and prorogative before we have declared; to witt, no vertue, no obedience, no good qualitie that was in them, but onely his free love, free grace, and undeserved mercie, as he himself doeth plainely affirme? "I will have mercie upon whom I will have mercie;" and Saint Paule, "It is neither of the willer, neither yet of the runner, but of God that sheweth mercie to such as pleaseth him." And thus, I say, you can not justly nor rightly conclude, that God hath neither chosen nor reprobated any man, becaus He hath no respect of persons. For as before I have said, his eternall Election dependeth neither upon man, neither yet upon any thing that is within man, but is purposed in himself, and established in Christ Jesus, in whom we are Elected, becaus that in ourselves there neither was, neither yet could be, any worthines which could merite or deserve such honour

Deut. 7.

Rom. 9.

Neither was nor is in us any thing whereby we should deserve to be Elected.

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and dignitie. And so God respecteth not the persons of men, their vertues nor qualiteis in their Election, but finding them all equall in creation and corruption, maketh difference betwext them according to his eternall purpose, respecting Christ Jesus and not their merites. How that ever the prowde and ungodlie storme at this I nothing doubt, but the children of God do thereof receave moste singular consolation, as that it is the chefest cause why, that without all trembling and feare, they stoupe before his Majestie, and, giving thankes for these inestimable benefits, do crave of his mercie such a puretie of life as becometh his children.

To the 5. To your Scriptures, which ye alledge from the book of Wis-

The bookes called Apocryphes. dom, and frome Esdras (his fourth booke), I will shortly answere, That albeit ye will ten thousand tymes deck and decore them with the title of the Holie Ghost, I wil not the more creditt them. Not that I deny but that in them there be thinges conteined profitable to edification, but if that therefor ye will, upon any place written within them, conclude a doctrine contrarie to the rest of the canonicall Scriptures, I will answer with the Ancient writers, that they were not written that upon them should our faith be established. Lett them serve, if so please you, to exhortation, but for confirmation of any doctrine shall they never serve unto me. Neither yet this do I say, that I do think any of these places (rightly understand) to make any thing for your purpose; but that I will, by God's

Reverence unto God's holie Worde. grace, give ever that reverence unto the Veritie of God, that the voices of men shall not with me be comparable unto it.

It may be greatlie suspected what some men now-a-daies do mean to ascribe that to the Holie Ghost, which the authors themselves did onely ascribe to their own diligence and travelle, and were also compelled to ask perdon of the readers, that they could not atteine, no not even to the proprietie of the tongue in the which they did write. Useth the Holie Ghost, I pray you, whose power lowseth the tongues of the dombe, in that maner to be suppliant unto men, and for his imperfection to

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begge pardon at their handes? Consider, and impute nothing upon the Holie Ghost which becometh not the Majestie of God. But lest that ye should complain that yet your Scriptures are not resolved, I will give you a generall answer to all, which is this: That neither the booke of Wisdom, neither yet Ecclesiasticus, neither yet Esdras, in these places that be alledged, do intreat any thing of Election or Reprobation. But the writers, in all those places which ye alledge, do studie to amend the corrupt maners of their ages, and to impose silence to the wicked tongues of many; of whom some accused God as author of sinne, which entred in by malice of the Devill, who did corrupt the good creature of God, created to his own image to reule in equitie and justice. Who doeth not see but that this writer, whosoever he was, reteineth himself within the reache of mannes understanding, laboring to convict their conscience, which maliciously imputed unto God that which he did not worke in them, but that they, of their own free will, did follow and obey iniquitie, and that therefor they should suffer their just condemnation? And that this my interpretation of their myndes is true, let their own wordes witness; for thus it is written:

Reade the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus, and the end of the last chapter of the Second Booke of Machab.

"They have said with themselves, not righteously, judgeing our life is troblesome and short; neither is there any remedie against the death of man; neither hath he bene known that hath returned from the helles.[1] We were born without purpose, and we shalbe as we never had bene; for the spirit is but a smoke in our nosethrels,[2] &c. In proces of tyme our name shall come to oblivion; neither yet shal any man remember our workes. Therefore let us use the present prosperitie. Let us oppresse the poore man, being just; let us not spare the widowe, neither yet lett us reverence the long aged and white heares of the ancient; but let the strength of our power be the law of justice." And so far furth he accuseth their open tyranny, and then concludeth these thinges: "They thoght and did erre, for they

Sap. 2.

[1] In the common version, "from the grave." [2] Nostrils.

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were blinded by their own malice; neither have they knowen the mysteries of God," (I wonder that ye marked not this place), "neither have they hoped for the reward of holynes. For God created man to immortalitie," (here I note your falshoode, for ye write "God created man to be undestroyed"), "and made him to his own similitude." Now let the indifferent reader judge, whether you or I do nearer attein to the mynd of the wryter. You, I say, that do affirme, that he denieth that God hath either Elected or Reprobated any man; or I, that deny that to be any parte of his mynd, but say, he reproveth mannes malicious blasphemy and manifest impietie.

To the 6. The argument which ye gather of the nynthe chapter of the same book, and would seme to confirm by the wordes of Christe, spoken in the seventh of Mathew, hath no greater force then the former; for the writer defineth not what God had determined in his secrete and eternall counsell, but what he hath expressedly committed to mannes charge by his law, and by his Holie Spirit speaking in his Prophetes; and that himself doeth plainely witnesse. For after that he hath asked Wisdom righteously to judge the people committed to his charge, he thus speaketh: "What man is he that knoweth the counsell of God? or that can comprehend in his mynd what God wold? The cogitations of mortall men are fearefull, and our opinions deceavable, &c. Scarcely by conjecture can we attein to the things that be in earth, and with travale fynd we those things which be amongest our handes. But who shal searche oute those things that be in the heavens? and who knoweth thy counsell, except that thow shall give wisdom, and from the hiest places shall send thy Holie Spirit? for so the wayes of those that dwell upon earth have bene directed, and they have learned those thinges that have pleased thee?"

Cry now as pleaseth you, that because man was made lord over creatures in earth (for that is the veritie of the text), to reule the world in holynes, that therefor there was no man reprobated: and the writer will answer for himself, and will affirme, that he

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searcheth not what God hath determined in his eternall counsell, and what shall become of everie man, (for that confesseth he to be incomprehensible), but he declareth what God commandeth in his law, and what he hath expressed by his holie Prophetes. To the which, if man be found inobedient, resteth no excusation (seing that God's will is manifestly declared), as Moises saieth in these wordes: "The secretes appertein to the Eternall our God, but those things that be reveled appertein to us and to our children for ever, that we may do all the wordes of this law." Deut. 2.

Your arguments, which ye think most strong, gathered of these wordes in the seventh and twelfth of Mathew, are most weak and vaine. For as we do not denie that man was created just, so do we constantly affirme that in justice he stood not, but became altogether unjust; and therefor God did not condemne man before he was giltie, as you falsly gather of our doctrine. Wonder it is, that ye see not degrees and just causes which come betwixt the purpose of reprobation and the just condemnation of man. This is your argument: God purposed to reject man before he was created: *Ergo*, He did damne him before he was criminall or giltie. Your consequent is fals, for no part of God's judgements was put in execution before man did sinne; for grace was offered to Adam after his fall. Cayn was admonished and rebuked of his crueltie; his posteritie and seede had raged in their furie; and finally, all flesh had corrupted their waies, befor that God's vengeance and most just judgements were poured furth and put in execution against the rebellious and unthankfull world. If you be able to prove that the sentence of death was executed upon Adam before he offended, or that Cayn was accursed by God's mouth before he had murthered, then hath your argument some apperance; but if the just causes of condemnation be found in man, and so founde in man that God in nowise can thereof be accused, then oght you to be ashamed to burden us with that which ye yourselves most foolishly collecte. To the 7.

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Lyke as there be degrees betwixt Election and Glorification, even so there be degrees betwixt Reprobation and Condemnation.

And further ye shall understand, that as the Apostle putteth certen degrees and causes which are sensible unto us, betwixt the eternall Election of God's children and their glorification, even so put we the contrarie degrees and causes betwixt the Reprobation and the just condemnation of the wicked. For as those whom God hath chosen before all tymes, in time he calleth, and that of purpose, to Christe Jesus his Sonne; and whom thus he calleth he justifieth, and that more and more untill that flesh and the corrupt affections thereof being mortified, they attein to their glorie: so by the contrarie, be the reprobate, either left all together in blindnes, never called to the light and knowledge of God's free mercie, or if they be called, they either do condemne it, or els sodanly fall from the same, and so, abiding in their corruption, do still heap sinne upon sinne, till at the last their measure being full, God executeth his most just judgements against their continuall rebellion. Inferre now as many absurdities as please you upon our doctrine. You proceede:

THE 9TH SECTION

THE ADVERSARIE.

You say, that God reprobated and ordeined man to damnation, the most parte of the world, afore the foundations of the world were laid; and yet in the creation God made all men after his own image good and righteous, as
1. the Scripture witnesseth. For as we were all created in one man, that is Adam, so were we all created in one estate, that is, after the image of God to
2. life. Then if your opinion be true, the ordinance of God in his Election afore the world, is not conforme to his ordinance in the creation. And the Holie
Galat 2 Ghost saieth, "If I buyld up agane that which I have cast doune before, I declare myself to be a transgressor." If God created man to his own image unto life, whom before the creation he had reprobat and cast away, declareth he not thereby himself to be inconstant and a transgressour. Ye can not escaip here with your bare solution, where ye say, "Afore the world God hath not ordeined all, but some, unto damnation, for in our creation all were ordeined unto life; for so much as we were all created after the image of
3. God, of the ordinance of God in our Election afore the world." The Apostle
Ephes. 1. writeth thus: "We be blessed (saieth he) with al maner of spirituall blessinges
4. in heavenlie thinges by Christe, according as he hath chosen us in him before the foundations of the world were laid, that we should walk in them." Here

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do we learn that God's ordinance in his Election afore the world, and also his ordinance in the creation, is alwaies one. For as we are chosen in Christe Jesus, so we are created in Christe Jesus; and as we are chosen to be holie and without blame, so are we created unto good workes. Wherefor God's ordinance in his holie Election, and his mightie creation, is one and of like strength and surenes. Further, seing we be (as the Apostle saieth) bothe Elect and created in Christe Jesus, and forasmuche as there is no damnation to them that are in Christe Jesus, then is there no damnation either in the Election or creation. 5.

ANSWER.

Because that aswell your forged lies, as the vanitie of your reasons have bene declared, I will not trouble the reader with repetition of the same; and will also touche the rest of these your arguments so briefly as I can.

Where ye reason, that we were all created in one man, that is in Adam, so were we all created in one estate, &c.: If ye understand that we were all created in one estate, that is, in that estate which shortly was to change, becaus that God had so determined in his eternal counsell, that by the fall of one, his infinite mercie towardes his chosen, and severe judgement towardes the vessels of wraith, should evidently appere in the tyme appointed by his wisdom: If this, I say, you understand that we were all created in one estate, I will not contend with you, albeit in very deede in that self same masse there were at once vessels of mercy and vessels of wraith. But because ye open your minde in the contrarie part, saying, That we were created in Adam after the image of God to life; I am compelled utterly to dissent from you, and fear not to affirme, that becaus none did stand to the end in that image, but all fell even to death in Adam, that therefor, neither in Adam, neither yet in that image as Adam had it, was any created unto life; but in Christ Jesus were all the chosen Predestinate to life everlasting, even before that ever Adam was created; as the Apostle plainely doeth witnes. To the 1. Ephes. 1.

Where ye go about to prove, by our opinion, the ordinance of God in his Election before the world, not to be conforme to his To the 2.

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ordinance in the creation, and so consequently God to be a transgressor and inconstant, ye declare yourself not onely ignorant, vaine, and foolishe, but also irreverent and blasphemous against God's Majestie. For ye (so far as in you lieth) spoile him of his Godhead, making him to change his counsell, purpose, and ordinance, even so oft as the creatures do change; where we, by the contrarie, labour to explane, and not to escaip any violence of your dartes by a bare solution (as ye alledge), but by the plaine Scriptures openly we do affirme, That as our God is eternall, incomprehensible, and immutable, so are his counsels constant, subject to no mutabilitie[1] nor change; constant, I say, in God himself, howsoever thinges change to our apprehension. And therefor, we say, that neither in his Election before the world, neither in his creation of man to his own image and similitude, was it his eternall counsell, purpose, nor ordinance that all the posteritie of Adam should be saved. And so can ye not prove that God destroyed any thing which he had builded. Albeit to note one thing by the way, Paule wold not have bene so bold as to have made himself check-mate with God; he did not, I say, accuse God of inconstancie, neither did he appoint him to be a transgressor, althogh he builded the Ceremonies under the Law and destroied them again. But to our purpose: God, I say, destroyed nothing which he had builded. True it is that man destroied that image which God had builded, but that building of God was but temporall, and for a tyme onely; but the perfect building of his Church was in Christe Jesus, builded before the foundations of the world were laid, which building God never destroied nor shall destroy, but shall consummate the work to the praise of his holie name. To him be glory.

To the 3 In your whole reasoning of the wordes of the Apostle you do erre in this point, as before I have noted, that ye make common to all, that which the Holie Ghost maketh peculiar to God's Elect.

[1] "Mutabilitie," in the orig. edit. "immutabilitie;" corrected in edit. 1591.

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For ye must first prove all to be saintes by vocation, all to be blessed with spirituall benediction and to have obeyed, and all to be builded upon the foundation of the Prophetes and Apostles, before that ye be able to prove that all were Elected and Predestinate in Christe Jesus before all tymes. That we are created in Christe Jesus unto good workes, is not to be referred (as ye think) to the common creation of all men in Adam, but to the new and spirituall regeneration which God's children have in Christ Jesus. For the which David did pray, saying, "A clean heart creat in me, O God;" which is no lesse called the creation of God, then was the first creation of man. For as man, in his creation, neither wroght, neither yet could deserve to be created so honorable as he was; but did suffer the power of God to worke, even as it pleased his wisdom to perfourm the work; so in our new creation unto good workes, the onely grace and power of God worketh not onely the beginning, but also bringeth to perfection; so that whatsoever be good, holie, or just in us, is God's creation, and not our worke. God open your eies, that ye may see that neither in Adam, neither yet in ourselves, were we created to good workes, but in Christe Jesus alone. And then, I think, ye will not so much boast of your free will.

To the 4. All be not saintes, nor blessed with spiritual benediction.

Oure regeneration to good workes is by the grace of God.

Your last, as after ye do reason, is a plain Paralogisme, that is a Sophisticall and fals argument, for it standeth on foure termes, against the use of all good and solide reasoning. For thus ye procede, saying, "We be Elect and created in Christe Jesus; and seeing there is no condemnation to them that be in Christe Jesus, then is there no damnation neither in the Election nor creation." Here be plainely foure termes. For in your Major, that is in the first part of your argument, ye say not, we were Elected and created in our Election and in our creation, but we were Elected and created in Christ Jesus. The second proposition is most trew, to witt, that there is no condemnation to them that be in Christ Jesus, to such as walk not after the fleshe. But what can ye conclude hereof? that no

To the 5.

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damnation, say you, is in Election nor in creation. I say your conclusion is false and vaine; for you change your termes, putting in the last part these two wordes, "Election and creation," where ye oght to have rehearsed these wordes, "Christ Jesus," for thus you may well procede: "We be Elected and created to good workes in Christ Jesus;" but to them, saieth the Apostle, "that be in Christ Jesus there is no condemnation:" *ergo*, To such as be Elected and newly created in Christe Jesus there is no damnation. This argument is formall and true; but omitting your foolishnes, which oftener I am compelled to shew then gladly I wold, I go forward with your wordes.

THE 10TH SECTION.

THE ADVERSARIE.

1. If God reprobated man afore the foundation of the world, then God reprobated man before he offended. And if God reprobated and damned man afore he offended, then is death the reward of God's ordinance afore the world, and not the reward of sinne. But the Apostle teacheth us, that by sinne death entred into the world, and also that death is the reward of sinne. I pray you, doeth either God's Law, or mannes Law, condemne any man afore he hath offended? I am certen ye are not able to prove it to be so, then oght you to be ashamed to burden God with such unrighteous judgement. Doeth not God rather forgive the offence alreadie committed? Let him be your God which condemneth the innocent afore he offend; but he shall be my
2. God which perdoneth and forgiveth the offence alreadie committed, which in his verie wraithe doeth think upon mercie. And so with Job will I conclude, "The great God casteth away no man."

ANSWER.

How ignorantly and how impudently ye confounde the eternall purpose of God's reprobation with the just execution of his
To the 1. judgements I have before declared; and therefore here onely resteth to admonishe the reader that most unjustly ye accuse us, in that ye say, that we hold and teache that God damned man before he offended. This you be never able to shew in any of our workes; for constantly, in worde and writing, we affirme that man willingly fell from God, and made himself slave to Sathan before that death was inflicted upon him; and so neither

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make we death the reward of God's ordinance, neither do we burden him with unrighteous judgement, but say with the Apostle, That death is the reward of sinne, and that our God is righteous in all his workes; and therefore be ashamed and repent your manifest lie.

That God forgiveth the sin committed, and doeth remember mercie even when he appereth in his hote displeasure to punishe his Churche, with thankes giving and joy we acknowledge. But that thereof ye conclude (as ye say with Job), that the great God casteth away no man, we can not cease to admonishe bothe you and the readers, that either ignorantly, or els maliciously, ye corrupt and deprave the minde of the speaker in that place: Elihu saieth not, as ye alledge, "The great God casteth away no man," but saieth, "Behold the mightie God casteth away none that is mightie and valiant of courage. He mainteneth not the wicked, but he giveth judgement to the afflicted." To the 2. Job 36.

And in this behalf your master Castalio, who notwithstanding that he useth to take large libertie in translation, where any thing may seeme to serve his purpose, is more circumspect and more faithfull then you be, for thus he translateth that place: "Althogh that God be excellent, yea, excellent and strong of courage, yet is he not so dissolute, that either he will keepe the wicked, or denie judgement to the poore." Althogh I say, that here is a greater libertie then I wold wish a faithfull translator to use, yet hath he not so corrupted the sense as ye have done. Elihu, reasoning against Job, affirmeth, "That albeit the power of God be infinit, yet can not his workes be unjust, but that they are wroght in all perfection of justice." Howbeit that often (as we be dull and blind) we do not understand nor see at the first the causes of the same, yet God giveth daily declaration of his justice, in that he preserveth and somtyme exalteth the verteous, that before were afflicted, and dejecteth from honors the wicked and the cruell oppressors. Be judge yourself what this serveth for your purpose. Castalio his translation.

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THE 11TH SECTION.

THE ADVERSARIE.

1. Some other be that grant, that sinne was a cause why man is reprobate, and therewith they hold, that God's absolute ordinance is also the cause, this saying conteineth contradiction in itself; for if it be God's absolute ordinance, then is it not in respect of any other thing, but, as they say, because it hath so pleased him. If they meant that God's ordinance is the cause why sinners suffer death, or that God ordeined that sinners for their sinne should suffer death, I could agree with them; but that were contrary to that which they have said, that God absolutly ordeined any man afore he was, yea, afore the world, to death, because so it pleased him; for if death be the reward of sinne, and for offence and sinne we do die, then cometh not death by God's absolute
2. ordinance. And if I do grant that both God's absolute ordinance and also sinne are the causes of damnation after your meanyng, marke well what inconvenience foloweth thereof. First, ye must grant me that God's ordinance is the principall and cheefest cause, (for it can not be inferior to any other
3. cause). Secondly, ye will grant that the first or principal cause, called *Causa causæ*, is the cause of the second and inferior cause, called *Causa causata*. So to conclude, God's ordinance, which is *Causa causæ*, shalbe the cause of sinne, which is *Causa causata*. As for a familiar exemple, the heate of the sun and the dew cause the grounde to be frutefull; and God also is the cause thereof, for he maketh the barren ground frutefull. But forasmuch as God is the principall and first cause, he must be also the cause of the same, which
4. is but the second cause. Thus it is clerely proved, that if God's ordinance were the cause of Reprobation, then God's ordinance should also be the cause of Sinne; and God should be autor of evill, contrarie to the whole Scripture, contrarie to the opinion of all godlie men, and contrarie to our faith. But forasmuch as, God willing, I intend to answer at length to this wicked opinion in the Confutation of the third Error, I will speak no more hereof in this place.

ANSWER.

To the 1. No further answer nedeth to be given to these your most unjust accusations then those which we before have given. For neither do we so unreverently speake nor write, neither yet do we understand nor affirme, that God's absolute ordinance is the principall cause of reprobation, of sinne, and of damnation; but simply we do teache, that God in his eternall counsell, for the manifestation of his own glorie, hath of one masse chosen vessels of honor whom before all tymes he hath geven unto Christe Jesus, that they in him should receive life; and of the same

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masse he hath left others in that corruption in the which they were to fall, and so were they prepared to destruction. The cause why the one were Elected, we confesse and knowledge not to be in man, but to be the free grace and the free mercie, shewed and freely given to us in Christe Jesus, who onely is appointed head to give life to the bodie. Why the others were rejected, we affirme the cause to be most just, but yet secrete and hid from us, reserved in his eternall wisdome, to be revealed at the glorious comming of the Lord Jesus.

This one thing do we (compelled by your blasphemous accusations) repeate oftener then we wold, to the end that indifferent men may see what doctrine it is which you so maliciously impugne.

Howsoever ye joyn God's absolute ordinance and sinne togither, we make so far division betwixt the purpose and eternall counsell of God (for absolute ordinance we use not in that matter) and the sinne of man, that we plainely affirme, that man, when he sinned, did neither looke to God's will, God's counsell, nor eternal purpose; but did altogither consent to the will of the Devill, which did manifestly ganesay God's revealed will. And therefor do we affirme, that neither was the purpose nor counsell of God any cause of sinne; but we say with the Apostle, "that by one man did sinne enter into the world." The cause whereof was the malice of the Devill, and that free consent of man to rebellion, whose will was neither inforced, neither yet by any violence of God's purpose compelled to consent, but he, of free will and readie mynd, left God and joyned with the Devill. Convict us now, (if ye can,) that we make God's absolute Ordinance, (which maner of speaking, I say, we abhorre,) to be the principall cause of sinne. To the 2.

Albeit that ye wold be sene subtill, in adding your logicall termes *causa causæ* and *causa causata*, yet doeth your similitude which ye bring furth for demonstration of your purpose, declare that either ye have not learned, or els that ye have forgotten the chief and principall point of right reasoning, which all rea- To the 3.

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sonable men confesse to be rightly to divide. For if ye can not divide betwixt the will of God working all thinges for his own glorie, and the operation of creatures, be they sun, moone, sterres, rayn, or dew, who can work nothing but as God hath appointed, I will not follow you as a God.

The just causes of Reprobation are hid in God's eternall counsel; but the causes of death and damnation are evident in the Scriptures.

We say not that God's ordinance is the cause of Reprobation, but we affirme that the just causes of Reprobation are hid in the eternall counsell of God, and knowen to his godlie wisdom alone. But the causes of sinne, of death, and damnation, are evident, and manifestly declared to us in the Scriptures; to witt, mannes free will consenting to the deceivable persuasion of the Devill, wilfull sinne, and voluntarie rebellion, by which entered death into this world, the contempt of graces and God's mercies offered, with the heaping up of sinne upon sinne, till damnation justly came. These causes, I say, of sinne, death, and damnation, are plainely noted unto us in God's holie Scriptures. But why it pleased God to shew mercie to some, and deny the same to others, because the judgementes of God are a devouring depthe, we enter not in reasoning with him, but with all humilitie render thankes to his Majestie for the grace and mercie, which we doubt not but of his free grace we have receaved, in Christ Jesus our onely Head.

The Judgementes of God are a devouring depth.

When you shall further charge us, that we make God author of evill, we have good hope plainely to convict your vennemous tongues of a most malicious lie. Now to your wordes.

THE 12TH SECTION.

THE ADVERSARIE.

The Lord reasoneth with the inobedient Israelites which did forsake him, saying, "O, my people, what have I done unto thee, or wherin have I hurt thee, give me answer?" If the Israelites had bene so well learned as you, they might have answered, "Lord, thow hast preordinate us by thy inamutable decree to fall away from thee, so that of necessitie we must perish; in this hast thow hurt us with an uncurable wounde."

ANSWER.

Howsoever we be learned, if ye betimes repent not your unreverent skoffing and jesting at God's eternal Predestination,

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ye shall learn in experience, that the immutable decree of God is most just, by the which the fyre which never shall be quenched is prepared for the Devill and his angels, and for all such as with trembling do not fear his godlie Majestie, and with sobrietie do not contemplat his judgementes incomprehensible. And thus I leave your blasphemous boldnes to be repressed by the power of Him whose judgementes you mocke.

THE ADVERSARIE.

THE 13TH SECTION.

Now I intend, with the helpe of God, to answer to the arguments which they that be intangled with this Error use to alledge for the proof thereof; leaving such as be but vaine, and ingender rather contention then edifying; answering to such as seeme most weghtie, collected of certen places of the Scriptures wherby it may be thought that they may be deceaved; beseching the gentill Reader to wey the mater with an indifferent balance, and first heare before thow refuse, and, God willing, thow shalt not repent thee of thy labor. But forasmuch as the author and mainteners of this Error do often make mention of Election, whereby they would cloke their absurdities, I will first declare how Election is taken in the Scriptures three maner of waies; that is, generally, specially, and most specially of all. First, we be all chosen and created in Christe Jesus, as Paule witnesseth to the Ephesians, in the first and second chapter; and conforme to this Election, he lightned all them that came into the world, and calleth all men to repentance, bothe greate and small, riche and poore, Jew and Gentile, male and female, of all estates, without respect of any person: And all that be thirstie he calleth to come to the water of life. Secondly, he commandeth them which come at the first calling, to renounce fáther and mother, wife and childe, with all other earthlie thinges, yea, and themselves also. This is the second Election, where there departed an innumerable multitude, which will not forsaik such thinges but for their own lustes. Here departed Cayn, with the monstrouse giantes, cruell tyrants, and bloodie hypocrites, and all persecuters which shed innocent bloode. Here departed Epicurus, with all his bellie gods: among which was the riche glotton which despised Lazarus. There departed Sardanapalus, accompanied with Venus, and all that be drowned in the lustes of the fleshe: among which was Herodias. There departed Crœsus, with many rich welthie persons: among which was the rich yong man of whom we read in the Gospell, that with a sorrie countenance he departed from Christe. There departed Tarquinius the proude, with such as be puft up with the pompe, glorie, of this world: among which was Herodes, of whom we read in the Actes of the Apostles, that for his pryde he was striken of God and eaten of lyse. There departed Deme-

1.

2.

3. Esaia. 50.

4.

5.

6.

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trius the silver smithe, with such as will not forsake their filthie lucre: amongest which were the maister and maistres of the damsell possessed with a spirit that prophecied. There departed a whole band of Stoikes, with their Destinie playing fast or loose, and that of Necessitie, which passeth all juglers conning: among them are all such as defend that of mere Necessitie a few nomber must be saved, and of mere Necessitie all the rest of the world must bo condemned. Whoso abideth this seconde Election and Calling, Christ commandeth them to take up their crosse and follow him, and thus to continue to the end. This is the third and last Election, of which saieth the Esaia. 48. Lord, "I have chosen thee in the fire of tribulation." Here the seventie 7. Disciples departed, for they can not abyde this hard saying. Here doeth Judas trudge. They which remayn suffer greate assaultes, in so much, that sometyme they turn there backes to their ennemies (as the Apostles did when Christ was taken); and there do worthie soldiours stagger, stumble, and fall, as Peter when he denied his Master, and swore he knew him not. And Thomas could in no wise beleve that Christe was risen and had obteined victorie. Yet they which at the voice of their capteyn ryse up and turne againe, and fight lawfully, even unto the end, they are cheifly above all others called Elect and Chosen, because they, continuing unto the end, obtein that whereunto they are chosen, and they follow the Lambe whether so ever he goeth. It is a hard thing that any such be deceaved and fall away, forasmuch as they first are illuminated from above, and have forsaken all, yea, themselves, and have altogither submitted themselves to the governaunce of their Lord and captaine 8. Christe. They daily obtein such victorie of their ennemies, that their warfare is now become easie. And in hope they have to subdue, by the aid and counsell of their Lord, all their ennemies, their joy and comfort is so great, that they esteme all earthlie pleasure, which should draw them back, but vaine, foolishe, displeasante, and beastelyke: happie is he which understandeth this to be true, not onely by speculation, but also by experience. These three kindes of Election are plainlie set furth in the historie of Gedeon, which being well and duely understanded, confyr to the world.[1]

ANSWER.

To the 1. Before ye enter to confute our arguments, as ye boldly promise, ye affirme that Election is taken in the Scriptures three maner of waies, that is (as you say) Generally, Specially, and Most especially of all; which division, with the probation of the same, is so foolishe, so fals, and so far from the purpose, that

[1] See Knox's remark, at page 122, on these concluding words, as altogether unintelligible.

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onless ye should have occasion to calumniat that so much of your book I passed over without answer, I wold not spend the moment of an hour in answering the same. For how litle do Epho. 1. the wordes of Paule serve for your Generall Election, in the confirmation of your eight reason, and after also, I have declared. And I leave to be proved of your parte, by the evident testimonie of any Scripture, that God so oft Electeth to life everlasting as he commandeth man to refuse himself; or els as he giveth his further grace to such as he hath called to the knowledge of himself, and of his onely beloved Sonne Christ Jesus. That there is a Generall vocation, by the which the world by some maner of meanes is called to the knowledge of God, and a vocation of purpose, which apperteineth to God's children onely, I fynd in Scriptures. But that there is any To the 2. Election to life everlasting, except that which is and was in Christ Jesus, in the eternall counsell of God before the founda- John 1. tion of the world, I am assured that neither Scripture affirmeth, neither justly can it be gathered upon any sentence of the same. That the true light (which is Christ Jesus) illuminated To the 3. all men commyng in to this world we confess. But what will ye thereof conclude? *Ergo*, say ye, All are Elected in him to life everlasting. I deny your consequence, and say, that albeit man be indewed with the light of reason and understanding, which no doubt procedeth from Christ, and is not of nature onely, yet doeth it not therefore consequently follow, that everie man that hath reason is Elected in Christ to the life everlasting. If ye ask, For what purpose then doeth their lightning and illumination serve them? the Apostle doeth answer you, Rom 1. That they may be inexcusable; which reason, if it satisfie not your curiositie, quarell with the Holie Ghost.

If you be able to prove, that all that be called do earnestly To the 4. repent, and that all be thristie to whom the waters of life are offered, ye have said somewhat to prove a Generall Election. But and if it be evident, that a great nombre do rather repyne against the trueth, nor repent their iniquitie which it reproveth;

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and that mo do either seeme to have no thirst to righteousnes, or els do drink of the stinking pudles of mannes doctryne, then that they will receave those wholsome waters of life which Christe Jesus giveth to his Churche, then have you proved no part of your purpose. And wonder it is, that in the wordes of the Prophet, and in the wordes of our Master Christ Jesus also, ye see not a plaine difference made; for the Prophete calleth not all indifferently to drink of these waters, but such as do thirst. And Christ restreineth his generalitie to such as did travale and were burdened with sinne: such, I say, he confesseth himself to call to repentance; but to such as were just and whole, he affirmeth that he was not sent. And so yet once agane I affirme, that the Scriptures of God make but mention of one Election to life everlasting. I am not ignorant that Saule was Elected to be King over Israel, and Judas also to the office of an Apostle; but whether thereof you be able to convince that they were both Elected to the life everlasting in Christe Jesus before that they did offend (for so you affirme), I remitt you to your proof. I feare not to prove, that by the Veritie himself, Judas is called the Devill, long before that the Holy Ghost maketh any mention that it entred in to his heart to betray his Master.

Isaiah 55.

John 6.

To the 5.

It may appere to some, that in heaping of your examples and histories, which ye adduce for your Especiall Election (as ye terme it), ye rather delyte to renew your memorie then substancially to prove your purpose. For if a man should thus reason against you, The sheepe of Christe, which by the eternall purpose of God be especially Elected to life, heare his voice, and with reverence do know and obey the same; but these whom ye rehearse did heare the voice (as ye alledge,) but neither did they know nor obey it: *ergo*, They were not the sheepe Elected and Especially chosen; if thus, I say, any man should reason, prepare for your answer. And farther, how ye be able to prove that Sardanapalus, Crœsus, and Tarquinius the proude, can be placed in this rank of your Espe-

An Argument against the Adversaries forged division of God's Election.

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cially Elected, I can see no good reason; for except that calamitie and God's just vengeance did follow their insolencie, filthie life, and pryde, I find in histories no speciall message sent unto them from God. But this ye may understand by some secrete revelation, which ye have receaved of late in your perfection.

That ye place us with the whole band of the Stoikes, who with their Destinie play fast or loose, and that of Necessitie, which, as you say, passeth the conning of all juglers, althogh we do not greatlie feare the force of your sentence, yet must we appeale to a more righteous and indifferente judge, that is to the Lord Jesus, to whom all judgement is given. And in the meantyme, we further must require such as be indifferent in this mater to judge betwixt you and us, whether that we or ye be those that play fast or loose in that which ye skoffingly call Destinie and Stoicall Necessitie, and we call God's eternall Election and purpose immutable. We affirme that God's Election in Christ Jesus is so certen, and his eternall purpose to save his Churche is so constant, that against the faith of God's Elect "shall not the portes and gates of hell prevaile in the end;" that "neither can life nor death, thinges present nor to come, seperate and dissever us from the love of God, which is in Christe Jesus." "That this foundation is stable, the Lord knoweth his own, and therefor shall everie one that incalleth the name of the Lord depart from iniquitie; for we are not called to uncleannes, but unto sanctification and holynes, by the power of that Spirit who raysed from death Jesus the great pastor of our soules. Which holie Spirit freely by faith (which also is the gift of God) doeth so reule and reign in our heartes, that albeit the flesh lusteth against the spirit, yet are we assured of victorie, by the onely power of Him who hath overcome the world." This is our doctrine, faith, and profession. But you affirme, as after plainely ye write, that none is so Elected in Christ to life everlasting, but that he may fall, become a Reprobate, and finally be condemned; and contrary waies, that none is so Reprobate in

To the 6.

Matth. 16.

Rom. 8.

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God's eternall purpose, but that he may become Elect and so be saved. That in God there is neither Election nor Reprobation, but according to mannes disposition; so that when men have good motions, and be godly disposed, God doeth Elect them, and write their names in the Book of Life, but when they change and turne to iniquitie, he doeth Reprobate them, and blotteth out their names out of the Book of Life.

To the 7. Let now all creatures judge betwixt us and you, whether of the two play fast and loose, and surmounte juglers in cunning. From the third kind of Election, which ye call Most especiall, how you be able to prove that the seventie Disciples did so depart from Christe, that there was no difference betwixt them and the trudgeing of Judas (as ye terme his horrible treason), John 6. be judges yourself. In the sixt of John, we read "that many of his Disciples left him, and falling from him, did go with him no more." But whether these were the whole seventie whom he sent to preach, or others who for a time did follow him, it is not expressed; neither yet doeth the text say, that all his Disciples The Free will of Men judge rashly. fell from him, but many departed. Further, it appereth to me verie rashe judgement, to pronounce that none that departed from Christe at any time in his life, before his death upon the Crosse, did at any time after return unto him, but that all such did remain in damnation with Judas. For I fynd that all his Apostles did flie and leave him, and yet we know they were called againe. And so also do we fynd were two of the Disciples, to whom Christ appearing betwixt Jerusalem and Emaus, did first instruct them, and after revealed himself unto them. This I note, to give you occasion to be more circumspect in so weghtie maters.

To the 8. Towardes the end of this parte, thus ye write (of those whome you say have subjected themselves altogither to the governement of their Lord and capteyn): "They daily obtein such victorie of their ennemies, that their warfare is now become easie. And in the hope they have to subdue, by the aid and counsell of their Lord, all their ennemies, there joy and com-

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fort is so greate, that they esteme all earthlie pleasure, which should draw them back, but vaine."

These wordes augment in me that suspition which before I noted; to witt, that ye have a further fetch in this matter then your rude scholers understand at the first; to witt, that everie one of you shall becom Christ's so perfect and clean, that in you even in this life shall rest no ennemie to be overcome, except death onely; and that this is the opinion of your greatest angelles,[1] I am able to prove by sufficient testimonie, I mean by their own hand-writinges. But how far St Paul was from that perfection, yea, even when he was readie to be offerred in sacrifice for the testimonie of Christe Jesus, he ashamed not to confesse, thus writing to the Philippians, after that he had affirmed, "That all justice[2] which before he looked for in the Law, was become to him as domage[3] and doung, to the end that he might winne Christ, and be found in him, not having his own justice which was of the Law, but that which was by the faith of Christ Jesus." He addeth, "Not as thogh I had alredy atteined to the mark, (understanding to that justice[4] which he hoped for), either that I am already perfect: but I followe, if I may comprehend that for whose sake I am comprehended of Christ Jesus. Brethren, I think not with myself to have atteined to the mark: but one thing I do, forgetting that that is behind, I endevore myself to that which is before." Here the Apostle, who had foghten somewhat longer then some who now can bragge of an easie battell, confessed he was not yet perfect, neither yet that he had atteined to that estate, that is, to the resurrection of the dead, to the which he daily did contend.

The perfection that the Adversaries pretend in this lyfe.

Philip 3.

The other poyson which in these your former wordes I espie, and therefore of conscience must admonish my brethren, is, That ye be proud contemners of the free graces of God offered to man in Christe Jesus. For with the Pelagians and Papistes, ye are become teachers of free will, and defenders of your

[1] "Angels," preachers.
[2] "Justice," righteousness.
[3] "Domage," *Fr.* loss.
[4] Righteousness.

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own justice. For how coldly ye speak of Christ Jesus and his power, these your wordes may witnes: "They are in hope (say you) to subdue their ennemies by the aid and counsell of their Lord." Are you become so strong, and your warfare so easie, that the counsell of your captein is sufficient for you to conquire your ennemies? You sodenly did repent, that ye had confessed that the aid of your Lord was necessarie for you; and therefor, to mitigate and extenuate that, immediatly ye adde, by the counsell of their Lord. Is this, I pray you, unfeanedly to confesse, that without Christ ye may do nothing, that of yourselves ye be not able to think one good thoght? that it is he that beginneth, and to the end performeth the work of our salvation? God of his great mercie, and for Christe Jesus his Sonnes saik, preserve his Church from your pestilent vennom.

How strong the Adversaries wolde seme to be.

What ye mean by the historie of Gedeon, in the which, say you, well and duely understanded, be your three kindes of Election plainelie set furth, because ye yourself do not expresse, I will not devyne. The copie which came to my handes was in that place imperfecte, for after the former wordes, it had onely written, "confyr to the world." And because I will not take upon me to alter any thing in your wordes, I leave them to be corrected by yourselves, and your mynd further to be explained in that point, if so it shall seeme good to you. Ye proceede, saying:

To the 9.

THE 14TH SECTION.

THE ADVERSARIE.

1. The first argument of them which abuse God's holie Predestination is easely soluted,[1] their argument is this: "Wheresoever there is Election, there is also Reprobation of the same sorte." But God Elected some men afore the foundations of the world: *Ergo*, he Reprobated some other men afore the world. The first part of this argument is false, "That wheresoever there is Election,
2. there is also Reprobation of the same sorte." For God's Election afore the world hath no respect unto his contrarie Reprobation afore the world; yea, there is no such word nor phrase in the whole Scripture, but God's Election afore the world is generall to all men, as his calling is generall without respect of persons. This is allredie sufficiently proved, yet some of you do grant

[1] "Soluted," solved.

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God's Calling to be generall, but not his Election. And in this ye accuse 3.
God of hypocrisie; you wold make him a dissembler lyke unto yourselves,
which often times with your mouth do offer and promise that which ye mind
never to perfourme. But God is faithfull, which is willing to perfourme all 4.
that he promiseth, even to them that refuseth him. And thogh they attein
not the promise, because of their unbelevo, yet all the tyme of their Calling
be they in the Generall Election, as those whom the King called to the ma- 5.
riage; notwitstanding they came not, yet were they chosen to be partakers
of the mariage; and the servant to whom the master forgave all his debtes Isaia. 43.
was chosen, notwithstanding he atteined not that whereunto he was chosen;
but became a reprobate, abusing the goodnes of his master. God is no hypo-
crite, which calleth men outwardly, and forgeiveth debtes onely with the
mouth, but even from the hearte, willing to give salvation to all them to
whom he offereth it. And the cause why such do perish is their obstinatnes
to God's grace; and as the Lord saieth, "Their stifneck which hath an yron
vain, and their browes of brasse," which dispyse the goodnes of God; they
became cast awayes, "becaus (as Saint John saieth) they love darknes better
then light." And as Esdras saieth, "They kept not that which was sowen in Esdr. 9.
them," whereof we may gather, "That they becom reprobates, because they
rather refuse the grace offered and grafted in them, then that they are re-
fused." Notwithstanding, both may be conveniently spoken, "Because they
have forsaken me, I will also forsake them," saieth the Lord. And agane
saieth the Holie Ghost, "Cometh not this unto thee, because thow hast for- Jerem. 2.
saken the Lord thy God." Further that this is untrew, "Wheresoever there 6.
is Election, there is also Reprobation of the same kynd," it may be easelie
proved by the inconvenience which cometh therof. Christ is the Elect and
Chosen of God, as then, "Behold this my servant upon whom I lean, my Esaia. 42 & 43.
Elect in whom my soule is pacified." And in another place, "Thow art my
witnes, saieth the Lord, and my servant whom I have chosen." And will
you say therefor, that there be mo Christes which be reprobate? For ether
this saying, "Wheresoever there is Election, there is also Reprobation of the
same kynd," is false, or els there must be mo Christes. That were much lyke
to the saying of a Jew, which when he had talked with a faithfull man verie
much concerning the temporall and worldlie dominion and honour of Messias,
the Christian proved by the prophecie of Daniel, and also by the prophecie of
Isaiah, that Messias should be evill entreated even of the Jewes, and put to
death as an offender. Here the Jew being driven to a narrow shift, rather
then he wold applie and confesse the trueth, he rather confessed that there
should come two Messias, of whom the one should be dispysed and the other
magnified. And if ye be so mynded, that rather then ye will departe from
your Error, ye had lever confesse mo Christes, of which some be chosen and
others reprobat: Surelie then, I think, it is no faithful man's duetie to rea-
on with you.

The Scriptures affirme, that there be many fals Christes and fale Prophetes; but Jesus Christe is our onely Savior; without whome there is no salvation.

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ANSWER.

To the 1. Easie it is indede to solute those argumentes which in our names ye falsly forge, either by adding such patches as in our writings can never be found, or els by so perverting our mindes, yea, and the minde of the Holie Ghost, that if possible it were, ye wold obscure the brightnes of the sun, and take frome creatures the benefitt of the same, to the end that in your darknes ye might still remaine. And therefor I can not but complain of your devilish malice, which causeth you to perverte and writhe[1] wordes well spoken, and reasons godly and substantially made.

Shew, if ye can, in any of our writings, that we affirm, that wheresoever there is Election there is also Reprobation of the same sorte. Shew that clause, I say, of the same sorte, and I will confesse that ye have read more then I have done of that matter, which, nevertheles, I hardly can beleve. But to the end that the simple reader may understand how we do reason of Election and Reprobation by the contrarie effectes, I will adduce not our reasons lately invented, but twentie yeares ago committed unto writing by that notable instrument of God, John Calvin, who thus speaketh: "Wonder it is, saieth he, that Chrisostom did not call to mynd, that it is the Election of God which maketh difference betwixt men. We feare not to grante that which S. Paule in great constancie doth affirm, to witt, that all together are wicked and given to malice, but with him we adde, That, by the mercie of God, it cometh to passe that we abyde not in wickednes. Therefor seeing that naturally we all labor with a like sicknes, these onely receive health and amend, to whom it hath pleased the Lord to put to his curing hand; others, whom by his just judgement he passeth by, do languishe in their corruption till they be consumed. Neither yet from any where els doeth it come, that some continue to the end, and others fall into the curse which was begunne. For because that perseverance itself is the gift of God,

Institu. 2 cap. sec. 78.

[1] "Writhe," wrest; in the edit. 1591, it is "write."

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which is not commonly given to all, but he frely giveth it to whom it pleaseth him. If the cause of the difference be soght, why some constantly continue, and why others fall away by instabilitie; none other cause may be assigned, but that the eternall God susteineth and strengthneth the one sort by his own power that they perish not, and unto the others he giveth not the strength, that they may be documentes and witnes of man's inconstancie," &c.

Thus use we to reason by the diversitie which we see in men, that one sort are Elect and others are Reprobate, and not as ye ymagine us to do. We say, that Nature hath made us equall as concerning corruption, and yet we see great diversitie amongest men. We ask what is the cause of this? If ye answere, Education, which some philosophers do; that will be proven false, as before I have declared. If ye say, Man's free will; we procede, demanding who giveth the good will? If ye alledge, Man himself; the Scriptures proveth you liers, saying, "It is God that worketh the will and the perfourmance." If God be granted (as he can not be denied) to be the onely author of all goodnes, then ask we, Why giveth he the good will to the one, and not to the other? If ye answer, Because the one receaveth grace and the other doeth refuse it, ye have said nothing to the purpose. For we still demand, If God may not (if so it pleased his eternall wisdom) frame and forme the will of the one to as great obedience as the will of the other, fret and fume as ye list: this ye can not denie, except that ye will be blasphemous deniers of his omnipotent power.

Now, of this manifest diversitie which we see in mankinde, we conclude, that God hath aswell his Elect, whom of mercie he calleth, by faith justifieth, and by his holie Spirit sanctifieth, and in knowledge of himself and of his Sonne Jesus preserveth to the end, and so in the end shall he glorifie them: as also, that he hath his Reprobate, whom for just causes he leaveth to themselves to languish in their corruption, to passe

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from iniquitie to iniquitie, till that they come to perdition, as they that are prepared vessels of wrath. If this ye be not able to convince, I send you to fight with your own shadow, for our reasons do stand, as I have shortly rehearsed, which you be never able to move. Trew it is that John Calvin thus writeth: "*Inter Electos et Reprobos mutua est relatio*," that is, betwixt the Elect and the Reprobate (saieth he) there is a mutuall relation; that is, the one hath a contrarie respect to the other, so that the Election of the which the Apostle speaketh, can not stand except we should grante that God hath set apart one sort of men whom it pleased him, from an other sorte. You heare no mention in these wordes of your patch. There is Reprobation of the same sorte, which I know either ye, or els your Master Castalio forged; becaus ye wold not forgett your merie tale of your Jew, ye boldly denie that God's Election hath respect to his contrarie Reprobation. But when ye should come to the plaine demonstration thereof, ye are compelled to flie to this shift: "There is no such word or phrase in the Scripture." If such a reason should be made before a reasonable man, I think it justly might be rejected. For if this be a good reason, Election hath no respect to his contrarie Reprobation, because the wordes nor phrase are not in the Scripture, then is this reason good also: Lot sinned not, committing incest with his daughters, for in the whole Scriptures there is neither such worde nor phrase, that in plaine wordes affirmeth that Lot sinned, committing incest with his daughters. Consider the vanitie of your reasons and be ashamed.

De Eterna Dei Prædestinatione.

To the 2.

Ye can not denie but this word Election is read in the Scriptures: And so oft, I say, can ye not denie, except that willingly ye will corrupt the mind of the Holie Ghost, but that it hath respect to his contrarie Reprobation, as by the phrases, which ye impudently denie to be in the Scriptures, is most evident. As when Paul saieth, "Hath God then rejected or refused his people? God forbyd. God hath not refused his people whom he knew before." And so alledgeing the like to have

Rom. 11.

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bene in the daies of Helias, he saieth, "Even so in this time there were a residue, or a few nomber left according to the Election of grace, that is, according to the free Election, and not according unto workes." And after, he saieth, "That which Israel seketh it hath not atteined unto, but the Election hath atteined unto it; but the rest were blinded." Whether that this phrase doeth not plainely prove that Election, in this place, hath respect to his contrary Reprobation, let the indifferent reader judge. The Election (saieth Saint Paule) hath atteined (understanding the illumination which God did promise), but the rest were blinded. If ye will not suffer that this blinded rest, whom God justly had rejected, shall be called Reprobat, studie ye for a more gentle worde, for we must use such as the Holie Ghost hath taught us. But yet one phrase or two mo. "I shall have mercie (saith God to Moses) upon whom I will have mercie." And Paul feareth not to adde his contrarie saying, "and whom he will he maketh hard-hearted." And agane, "What if God, willing to shew his wrath and to make his power knowen, hath suffered with long patience the vessels of wrath made readie to damnation, and that he might declare the riches of his glorie on the vessels of mercie which he had prepared unto glorie." If mercy, life, the vessels of mercie and glorie, have contrarie respect to severitie, to destruction, to the vessels of wrath, and of dishonor, then can it not be denied but that Election (from the which all these former graces flow to the Elect) hath contrarie respect to Reprobation. I omitte the rest of the phrases which be common in Scripture, and make plaine difference betwixt the Elect and Reprobate, because before I have noted diverse, and after must be compelled to repeate the same. How sufficiently ye have proved your Generall, Speciall, and Most especiall Election, let the readers judge by that which is answered to your eight unreasonable reason, and to your thirteenth vanitie.

That impudent blasphemie which maliciously yé lay to our To the 3.

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charge, shall God, without spedie repentance, sodenly revenge upon your own heades, blasphemous mouth! I write to thee, whose corrupt maners freindly and secretly I have rebuked, but whose malice I now know. Canst thow not be unthankfull unto man, except that also thow powre furth thy vennom against God's Majestie? Impudent lier! which of us hath promised unto thee, or unto any of thy pestilent Sect, that which he hath not perfourmed? Examine thy conscience, and denie if thow canst, but more hath bene perfourmed unto thee then ever was promised, yea, even when thow diddest deserve to have bene abhorred of all honest men; and yet, without fear or shame, doest thow accuse us, that we should accuse God of hypocrisie, and that we wold make him a dissembler lyke unto ourselves. The Lord, for his great name's saik, either purge thy heart, or sodenlie represse that vennome in thee, and in that pestilent Sect, to his own glorie, and to the comfort of his Church! Repent, repent, I say, or els shortly shalt thow feele what it is to contristate and make sorrowfull the Spirit of God, be the instruments in whom he worketh never so weak.

To the 4 If of everie parable and similitude ye will conclude as largely as ye do here, to wit, that because in a parable it is said, That a king called many to the mariage: *ergo*, God Elected all by Luk. 16. his Generall Election; then it shall follow, that all lords and masters shall allow and praise their stewardes and servants that deceave them; for so is affirmed in a parable, that one lord did to his steward. If we shall rather beleve Christ Jesus then you, then we shall conclude: "Many are called, but few chosen." Wonder it is that ye can not see the difference betwixt these wordes: "The King called many, and God chose all." I am ashamed of your ignorance. Of God's constant fidelitie, of his promises, of the causes why the Reprobate are more and more blynded, we have before somwhat spoken, and after will have occasion to repeate the same.

To the 5. When ye wold be seene most craftie and subtill, then appereth most your ignorance and vanitie. To prove an absurditie

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in our doctrine, thus ye reason: "If wheresoever Election be, there is also Reprobation of the same kynd," (this last patch, I say, is your malicious addition, but let it stand for a testimonie of your untrueth). "If then," say you, "Christ be the Elect and Chosen of God (as the Scriptures affirme him to be), then must it nedes followe, that there be mo Christes, of whom some must be Reprobate;" and thereupon ye bring in your foolishe tale of your Jew.

First I answer you, according to your merie disposition, which I perceave did tickle[1] you in writing this part, That if ye can make no difference betwixt Election and Elect, then I wold ye were commited agane to some quick and sharp Pedagoge, who with sharp roddes wold let you fele what difference there is betwixt *Agentem* and *Patientem*. Assuredly your unreverent jesting in these secrete mysteries of our Redemption, and these scoffing taunts in malice casten out against the eternall Sonne of God, and his undoubted veritie, deserve none other answer. But yet, partly to let your ignorance appere, and partly for the instruction of the simple, I will prepare myself to answer with greater modestie then your malice deserveth. I have said before, that this patch, upon the which ye gather your absurditie, is none of our doctrine. For we have neither written nor yet taught, that wheresoever is Election, there must also Reprobation be of the same kind; but simply we say, that Election hath respect to his contrarie Reprobation.

But to grant you somwhat, and not to hold you so streit, let it be that so we had written, what should rightly thereof folowe? "That there must be mo Christes, of whom some must be Reprobate," say you, because that Christ is called the Elect of God. I answer, In this your argument ye use two fallacies; that is, fals and deceatfull apperances of a trueth, which are but manifest lies. The former, you change the termes, putting Elect and Reprobate in the minor and in the conclusion, where we put Election and Reprobation in the major, which is not

[1] In the edit. 1560, "titill."

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lawfull in a good argument. For where we say (as ye affirme), Wheresoever is Election there must also Reprobation be, ye infer Christ is the Elect of God: *ergo*, There must be mo Christes, of whom some must be Reprobate. Who seeth not here the changing of the termes? Let your argument procede in order, and conclude what ye list. Wheresoever is Election there must also be Reprobation; and add if ye list, of the same kynd, But Christ is Election, (thus must you procede if that ye kepe the forme of a good argument). Prove your minor, and conclude what ye please. Thus doeth your vaine and foolishe sophistrie compell me to trouble the simple with the termes of the artes, which most unwillingly I do.

The seconde fallax and deceat, lieth in the ambiguitie and doubtfull understanding of this patch (which ye craftelie forge) of the same kynd: for if we had so spoken or written, yet is our understanding far other then you imagine; that is, we applie not these wordes of the same kynd to the particularitie of persons, and of everie especiall man that is Elect, but to the whole masse, as by Saint Paule we are taught. To make the matter more sensible, I will lay myself for exempell, for I will not, nor dare not, so irreverently jest with the majestie of my God, and of his dear Son Christ Jesus, as ye do. You reason against us, as that we did understand your addition of the same kynd, of everie particulare person apart, as thus: I, JOHN KNOXE, do constantly beleve that, as of mercie and free grace, it hath pleased the goodness of my God in tyme to call me to his knowledge, and so to remove my blyndnes and unbeliefe, that in a part I see his fatherlie love towardes me in Christ Jesus his Sonne, so do I most certenlie beleve, that in the same Christ Jesus; of free grace he did Elect and choose me to life everlasting before the foundation of the world was laid: *ergo*, By your understanding I must also beleve, that there is another John Knoxe of the same kynd, having the same substance, with the same qualities, proprieties, and conditions that I have, that was Reprobated, and so must be damned.

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Who seeth not here your vanitie, yea, your most malicious cavilation, who labor to impute upon us that which did never enter into our heartes? We, with all reverence and feare, beleve and teach, that God of one masse, that is of Adam, hath prepared some vessels of mercie, honour, and glorie, and some he hath prepared to wrathe and destruction. To the vessels of his mercie, in his eternall counsell before all tymes, he did appoint a Head to reule, and give life to his Elect, that is, Christ Jesus our Lord, whom he wold in tyme to be made like unto his brethren in all thinges, sinne except; who in respect of his humaine nature is called his servante, the just sede of David, and the Elect in whom his soule is well compleased, because, as I have said, he is appointed onely head to give life to the bodie, without whom there is neither Election, salvation, nor life, to man nor to angell. And so in respect of his humanitie, from the which he in no wise can be seperated, he is called the Elect. Conclude now, if you can, there must be mo Christes, of whom some must be Reprobate, I will make a more sure and more trew conclusion then you do, which is this: God of one masse hath Elected some men to life in Christ Jesus: *ergo*, There was left of the same masse another sort, under another head, the Devil, who is the father of lies, and of all such as continue in blasphemie against God. Gather now what absurdities ye can.

The Adversarie.

The 15th Section.

Another argument gather they furth of Godes prescience, but I will first borow an argument of them concerning the prescience of God; and then, God willing, I shall answere to theirs. Paul saieth, "Those which God knew before, he also ordeined them before, that they should be lyke fashioned unto the shape of his Sonne, that he might be the first-begotten Sonne among many brethren;" but God knew all men before, *ergo*, He ordeined all men before that they should be Christes brethren, lyke fashioned unto him. The first parte of my argument is Paule's saying, the seconde ye can not deny, and the conclusion is formallie inferred of bothe the partes. Labor either to solute my argument without any ambiguitie, whereby ye may satisfie others, or els forsaik the error which it improveth.

The Second Argument.

Rom. 8.

Reade the Scriptures better, and be ashamed of your Argument.

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ANSWER.

Because ye desire your argument to be soluted, at your own requcst I will take some paine: God grant it may profit! Your argument conteineth in itself the fallax which is called of equivocation; for this word "knowledge," or this sentence, "whom God did foreknow," in the wordes of Paul, which be in your major or first proposition, do not signifie the self same thing that these wordes, "but God knew all men before," which you put in your minor or second proposition. And so because that there be foure termes, which in the schooles be called *scopæ dissolutæ*, the argument is deceatfull and false, althogh the forme appere good. Thus, I trust in your own conscience, you think your argument fully and rightly soluted; but yet that neither ye shall have occasion to bark againe, neither yet that the simple reader shall take paine to reade these vaine argumentes without all frute, I will adde somewhat more, and will plainely prove my solution to be good. In the first proposition, I say, where Saint Paul saieth, "Whom God foreknew, the same he before ordeined," that the Holie Ghost meaneth of that foreknowledge of God which is joined with his eternall love, which before all tymes he did bear to his Elect, as of the wordes of Christ Jesus, and of the wordes of the same Apostle in divers places before is declared. And with this foreknowledge which is joined with his love, by the which his Elect were appointed to be made like fashioned to their head Christ Jesus, did never God foreknow nor foresee Cain, Judas, nor none other Reprobate to appertein to him. I do not denie, but that as all things ever were present before the eies of his Majestie, so did he both foreknow, foresee, and before ordein the end of all creatures; but other wise, I say, doeth God foreknow his Elect, of whom St Paul onely speaketh. If it doeth offend you that I affirme that God did never foreknow the Reprobate as he did his Elect, I have my assurance of Christ Jesus, of his own plaine wordes, saying to the false prophetes, "I never knew you; depart from me, ye workers of iniquitie." Note well, that

Rom. 8.

The difference of Godes foreknowledge

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Christ affirmeth that he never knew the fals prophetes, no not even when they did prophesie, cast out devilles, and did many wonderous thinges in the name of Christ. If he had said, "I know you not," ye might have shifted with this your accustomed cavillation, "That was by reason of their sinnes which after they committed;" but he leaving no doubt, saieth, "I never knew you," and therefor I fear not to affirme, that God did never foreknow Judas as that he knew Peter. Consider and be sober. Ye go forward to your argument and say: Matth. 7.

The Adversarie. The 16th Section.

There argument concerning God's Præscience is this: God knoweth all things before they be done: God's prescience or foreknowledge is infallible: *ergo*, Of necessitie all things must come to passe as they do; which being granted, they which perish, of necessitie they do perishe. If of Necessitie, then is it by God's ordinance, because so he willeth and so he hath ordeined. This argument semeth probable at the first blushe. But I pray the reader to mark first how these men put no difference betwixt the foreknowledge of God and his will. For they suppose, that whatsoever God foreseeth he also willeth; but there supposition is untrue, for God foreseeth the death of the sinner, and yet he will not the death of the sinner, but rather that he repent and live. Christ did foresee the destruction of Jerusalem, and yet did he not will it, for he wept and he waled it. God did foresee the fall and finall destruction of the Israelites, and yet would he not it. As he witnesseth himself, saying, "Wherefor will ye die, O ye house of Israel, seing I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth?" Ezech. 18.

Answer.

What we do teach of God's Prescience, of his Providence, and Predestination, and how that his omnipotent Will, which we feare not to affirme to be the Necessitie of all thinges, doeth differ from Stoicall Necessitie, with the which ye burden us, we have before declared; and therefor, remitting the reader to the same place, I say to you, that if ye imagine in God a prescience and foreknowledge which is ydle and seperated from his will, that then ye fall into the blasphemie of Epicurus: and if that you say (as plainely ye do) that he foreseeth things to Reade the First Section.

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come which he will not, that then ye denie the omnipotencie of his power. Choose which you will, the veritie will convince you. To prove that he foreseeth and knoweth many things to come which he will not, ye adduce the place of Ezechiel, where God affirmeth that God will not the death of a sinner, the weeping of Christ upon Jerusalem, and the compleint of God against the house of Israel. To which I shortly answer, at this tyme, becaus that after we must have to do with the same mater, that simply (that is, having no further respect but to punishment onely) God will neither the death of the sinner, neither yet the destruction of Jerusalem, nor of the house of Israell; but in respect of his glorie to be shewed in their just punishment, and of his veritie and sentence to be approved, alwaies stable and constant, why that God shall not will both the death and destruction to come upon the stubborne inobedient, I see neither absurditie to follow, neither Scripture repugning. But after, in answering to your distinction which ye make betwixt God's will and his permission, I purpose to entreat this mater more largely. You procede, saying:

THE 17TH SECTION.

THE ADVERSARIE.

1. Secondly, these men think that God's foreknowledge causeth all thinges to come to passe of Necessitie, which is also untrue. Foreknowledge of things past, of things present, and of things to come, dependeth of the thing that is knowen and not the thing of knowledge. As I know that Paule before he was called, he was a persecuter of Christes Churche; but Paule was not a persecutor because I knew it, but I knew it because he was a persecuter. I know that in the month of July shall be harvest, yet shall not harvest be because I know so; but I know it because it shall be. Likewise, God did know that I should write this day, but yet did he not compell me to write, for I had libertie either to write or not to write; not because he knew that I should write therefor did I write, but becaus I was to write therefor knew he that I should write. Thus ye may see how they do erre which affirme that God's foreknowledge causeth all things to come to passe of Necessitie. For as God doeth foresee that men will do evill, so doeth he also foresee that they may leave the evill undone; and as God foreseeth that men will not do well, so he foreseeth that they be not compelled thereto, but might do well if they list. As for example, Christ could and might have obteined more then twelve

O prowde Lucifer, that darest compare thy knowledge to the prescience of God!

2.

3.

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legions of angels, and yet God did know that he should not obtein them: also God did know that Christ should not pray for twelve legions of angels, and yet he might have praied, as he saieth himself. Of this it is manifest, that notwithstanding the foreknowledge of God, things may come to passe otherwise then they do. Wherefor it foloweth, that God's foreknowledge causeth no Necessitie. Pilate had power to crucifie Christ, or to let him go; which Christ denied not, but rather affirmed it, saing, He had that power frome above, and althogh Pilate did not delyver Christ, notwithstanding he might have done it. Ananias solde his possession, and yet he might have not sold it: he broght a part of the price thereof to the Apostles, which he might have reteined to him, as Peter witnesseth that the price therof was in his own power. Many such exemples may I bring furth, whereby it should appere manifest that, notwithstanding the foreknowledge of God, thinges be done which might not be done, and things be not done which might be done. 4.

Answer.

Albeit that ye be so blinded that ye can put no difference betwixt the foreknowledge, will, and power of God, which all are perfect in himself, as is his eternall Godhead, and the foreknowledge, will, and power of man or creatures, which be imperfect and weak by reason of mannes corruption; yet I doubt not but that all reasonable men shall sodanly espie your vanitie, who dare be so bold as to affirme, that because your knowledge was not the cause that Paul was a persecutor, that therefor the foreknowledge of God, his eternal purpose, counsell, and will, which we never seperate, did no more in that matter then did your bare knowledge. By the same reason ye may conclude, that God wroght no more with Paule in preaching to the Gentiles, then did your knowledge, for the reason is alike strong. But he himself will not be so unthankfull, but will confesse, "that from his mother's wombe he set him aparte, and called him by his grace, to the end that he might revele his Sonne Christ Jesus by him;" for the which he unfeanedly thanked the goodness of God, who made him strong in Christ Jesus, to be faithfull in that office and ministerie." I am not ignorant, that otherwaies doeth God worke in the heartes of his Elect the work of their salvation, and otherwaies in the Repro- To the 1. Galat. 1. 1 Tim. 1. God worketh both in his Elect, and in the Reprobate, but in diverse maner.

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bate; for in the heartes of his Elect, effectually and by the power of his Spirit, doeth he so worke in them the motions that be aggreable to his holie commandments, that they strive and contend against their natural corruption. But justly leaving the Reprobate to themselves, and to Sathan their father, they willingly follow, without all violence or compulsion of God's parte, iniquitie and sinne, and so finally the way of perdition, to the which they naturally are inclyned.

But yet if any will affirme, that therefor God's foreknowledge doeth but idly behold what they will do, and that in his eternall purpose, counsell, and will, he will one thing and they will another, so that their will prevale against his, he shall not escaip the cryme of horrible blasphemy, as before I have said,
To the 2. and hereafter also must more largely entreat. Of your knowledge what shall come in Julie, and of your libertie to write, I onely answer this: that albeit God did not compell you to write, for thereto your wicked will was bent; yet because he foreknew, and also hath forespoken, that of Necessitie it was that heresies should come, that the Elect might be tried, it was not altogither against His will that ye should manifest yourself, and that we should patiently suffer your unjust accusations.

To the 3. Your wrastling and wrangling with the wordes of our Master Christ Jesus to Peter, is so far from the purpose of the Holie Ghost, that I am partly ashamed in your behalf. Doeth Christ in that place absolutely affirme, that either he might pray for twelve legions of angells, either yet that his Father wold or might give them to him then, to deliver him; or doeth he not rather by this interrogation, "Belevest thow not that I may pray my Father!" rebuke the bold and foolish interprise of Peter, who rashly pretended to defende by his sworde Him whome the Father had given into the handes of his ennemies, of determined purpose to die for our sinnes? And so did he conclude contrarie to your mind, to witt, that impossible it was that either he should pray for any angels to delyver him at that tyme, either yet that his Father should send any for that

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purpose; for because it was other waies determined in His eternall and immutable counsell, as in plaine wordes he witnesseth, saing, "But how then shall the Scriptures be fulfilled, in which it is forespoken that so it behoveth to be?"

In the wordes of Pilate, and in Christes answer, ye shew the like ignorance as before. For thereupon ye conclude what Pilate might have done, and yet did not the same; whereas the purpose of Christe Jesus was to reprove the proude arrogancie of the vaine man, who did usurpe to himself authoritie, rendring unto God neither honor nor glorie; but boasting himself of his power, he thoght all thinges lawfull which it pleased him to do. Against which pride and unjust unthankfulnes, Christ absolutely denieth that he should have had any power over him, except it had bene given to him frome above. By which wordes and sentence, he did put him in minde that he should make accomptes what judgement he pronounced, not to the Emperor onely, but to the Soveraigne God, who as he hath appointed and established autorities, so shall he severely require of their hands an accompt, if under his name they use tirannie, or pronounce fals judgement. This, I doubt not, is the true and simple meaning of the text, and not as ye ignorantly, or els maliciously collect, that Christ affirmed that Pilate had power not to adjudge him to be crucified, but to deliver him. The Holie Ghost affirmeth the direct contrarie, saying, "Of a trueth, in this citie have convened against thy holie Sonne, whome thow hast annointed, Herode and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles, and the people of Israel, to do whatsoever thy hand and counsell have before decreed to be done." Now, let the indifferent reader judge which of our collections and conclusions is most strongly proved. Ye affirme that Pilate had power not to crucifie Christ; and I say, that he was appointed in the immutable counsell of God, to be one of the wicked instruments by whome the Sonne of God should innocently suffer the death of the Crosse. But how little doeth this releve the wilfull sinne of Pilate, shall after be declared.

To the 4.

Read the praier of the Apostles, Act. 4.

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What power Ananias had of his land.

Even such libertie and power as ye had to write these former and subsequent blasphemies, had Ananias of his land, and money received for the same. For as you being infected with heresie, malice, and envie, did willingly write and utter your

Act. 5.

vennom, so he being avaricious and a dissembling hypocrite, did of a free, consenting heart, reserve a portion to himself, offering a parte to the Churche of God, with protestation that it was the whole somme, thinking thereby to have obteined the commendation and praise which hypocrites deserve not. But what was God's purpose, counsell, and will in that behalf, is evident: to witt, that we shall abhore and avoid hypocrisie; that we shall not abuse the simplicitie of our brethren; neither yet make protestation of that thing before men, affirming that to be trew which our own conscience knoweth to be false. But now to the rest.

THE 18TH SACTION

THE ADVERSARIE.

1. Here I think it is good to answere to their objections which they collect of Peter's denying of his Master. If these thinges which God foreseeth to come to passe, say they, may be left undone, then, notwithstanding that Christ did foresee that Peter should denie him, Peter might yet have not denied him. I answer, that notwithstanding Christ did foresee that Peter should denie him, yet was not Peter compelled thereto, but might have not denied Christ. Well (say they) then should Christ have bene a lier, for he said that Peter should denie him. I answer, that notwithstanding that Christ so said, yet might Peter have not denied him, and Christ notwithstanding should have
2. bene no lier. The like example have we in the first book of Samuel: "David

1 Reg. 23.

asked counsel at the Lord, If Saul wold come to Keyla? And the Lord said, He will come down. Then said David, Will the men of Keyla delyver me, and the men that are with me, into the hands of Saul? And the Lord said, They will betray you. Then David with his men departed from Keyla; which when Saul heard, he left of from his interprise, and come not to Keyla." Here we see that neither God's foreknowledge, which is also conforme to his saing, neither yet his propheseying, did take libertie frome Saul, from the men of Keyla, neither from David and his men; neither did Saul come to Keyla, neither the men of Keyla betraied David, as the Lord had spoken. And David had libertie with his men to avoid the danger, notwithstanding God had spoken it should come to passe; so all they had libertie, yea, even after
3. God had pronounced what shoulde be done. Insomuch, that their doings

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were plaine contrarie to the prophecie of God; and yet was God true, for he did foresee, that if David did not departe frome Keyla, using such libertie as God had given him, he with his men should be betrayed into the hands of Saule. And I pray you, might not Peter, likewise using his libertie, avoyd the bishopp's house, and so never bene tempted to denie Christe? Yes, I am sure, aswell as David avoided Keyla.

ANSWER.

If you be able to prove that David stoode in all so hote a contention against God, as Peter did against his Master Christ Jesus; that David affirmed the expressed contrarie to that which God had pronounced; and that God had appointed the certen time aswell when Saule should come, as when the men of Keyla should betray him; then might ye have had some coulor to have compared and matched the deniall of Peter with the flieng of David. But if Peter's deniall was with a double affirmation pronounced by the mouth of Christe Jesus; and if the sentence of God, bothe touching the comming of Saule, and touching the unthankfulnes of the men of Keyla, was conditionall, ye be more then bold that take upon you to joyn togither things so diverse. Christes wordes to Peter were neither spoken nor ment under any condition, but were pronounced as foloweth: "Verelie, verelie, I say unto thee, that the cock shal not crowe till thow shall denie me thrise." Which wordes leave neither libertie, fredome, nor power to Peter to provide for himself, that this sentence should not be true. But the wordes and answers spoken to David were according to his questions, which were first, If that brute[1] of Saule's coming was true; and, If the men of Keyla, to whom he had shewen such thankfulnes of late before, should become so ingrate, that they should betray him into the handes of Saule. And God did answer, That Saule should come downe, and That the citezens of Keyla should betray him. But I trust ye will not be so impudent as to denie but that both these affirmations were spoken conditionally, to assure David of his doubtes, and to

Whence have ye your assurance?

To the 1, 2, & 3.

Matt. 26. John 13.

[1] "Brute," or "bruit," (in edit. 1591), report.

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give him advertisement, that neither he should abyde the hasard of Saule's coming, neither yet commit himself and his men of warre to the fidelitie of those that were in Keyla. Be judges now yourselves, how far different be the wordes spoken to Peter and the wordes spoken to David. Ye proceede:

THE 10TH SECTION.

THE ADVERSARIE.

1. But now to returne to our purpose. If I shall grante that all thinges of mere Necessitie must come to passe, according to the prescience and fore-
2. knowledge of God, then had Adam afore the transgression no Free will, but of mere Necessitie did he offend, forasmuch as God did foresee his fall: then had Christ no free will, for God did foresee all that Christ was to do: then is God bound himself, and hath no libertie to do nor leave undone that which
3. he doth, forasmuch as he foreseeth all his own workes. This belike you will make a goodlie, wise God. God save us frome such dangerous and horrible errors, and give us steadfast and perfect faith to beleve, not onely that he is, but also that he is an omnipotent God, which freely after his own good plea-sure doeth, and may do, or leave undone whatsoever pleaseth him.

ANSWER.

To the 1. Before I answer to the absurdities which of our doctrine ye collect, I must, in few wordes, put you in minde, that very foolishely ye joyn the free will of Adame with the free will of Christe Jesus, and with the libertie of God. For Adam's will was never so free but that it might (as that it did) come to thraldom; which weaknes you be never able to prove at any tyme to have bene in Christes will. Further, the will of Adam was alwaies under the impire and threatning of a law; to which subjection I think ye will not bring God. But now to your absurdities.

Difference betwixt the libertie of Christes will, and the freedome of Adames will.

"If (say you) I shall grante that all thinges of mere Necessitie must come to passe, according to the prescience and foreknowledge of God, then had Adam afore his transgression no Free will." Your illation or consequence is fals, for the foreknowledge and prescience of God did neither take away free will from Adam, neither yet did compell it by any violence, but did use it as an ordinarie mean, by the which His eternall counsell and

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purpose should take effect. But for the better understanding hereof, we must adverte and note that which before we have touched, and promised after more largely to entreat the same; to witt, That God's prescience and foreknowledge is not to be seperated from his Will and decree. For none otherwise doeth God foresee things to come to passe, but according as He himself hath in his eternall counsell decreed the same. For as it apperteineth to His wisdom to foreknow and foresee all things that are to come, so doeth it appertein to his power to moderate and reule all things according to his own will. Neither yet therefor doeth it folow that His foreknowledge, prescience, will, or power, doeth take away the free will of his creatures, but in all wisdom and justice (however the contrarie appere to our corrupted judgements,) he useth them as best it pleaseth his wisdom to bring to passe in time that which before all tyme he had decreed. To the which purpose and end, they (I mean the creatures and their willes), whatsoever they purpose to the contrarie, or how ignorantly that ever they worke it, nevertheles do voluntarely, and as it were of a naturall motion, incline and bow to that end to the which they are created.

God's Prescience is not to be seperated from His Will.

To make the mater more plain, let us take the creation and fall of Adam, with the creatures that served in the same, for example. For what cheif end did God create all things (of Salomon and Paule we have before declared), to witt, for his own glorie to be shewed; the glorie, I say, of the riches of his mercie towardes the vessels of mercie, and the glorie of his justice and most just judgements towards the vessels of wrath. And that this eternall counsell of God should take effect, as he had purposed, man was created righteous, wise, just, and good, having free will; neither subject to the thraldom of sinne nor of Sathan, at the first creation. But sodanly cometh Sathan, ennemie to God and to man his good creature, and first poured in vennom into the heart of the woman, which afterward she poured into the heart of Adam; to the which bothe the one and the other, without all violence used of God's part, dothe

Rom. 9. Prover. 16.

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willingly consent; and so conspiring with the serpent, do accuse God of a lie; do fully consent to vendicat[1] or challenge to themselves the power of the Godhead, of minde and purpose (so far as in them lay) to thrust downe and depose Him from his eternall throne. Here we see how the creatures and their willes, without compulsion, do serve God's purpose and counsell. For Sathan was neither sent nor commanded of God to tempt man, but of malice and hatred did most willingly and gredely runne to the same: The will of man being free before, was not by God violently compelled to obey Sathan; but man of free will did consent to Sathan, and conspire against God. And yet was the fall of man not only foresene and foreknowen of God, but also before decreed, for the manifestation of his glorie.

Let us yet take an other exemple, that the mater may be more evident. The death of Christ Jesus for man's redemption, was decreed in the eternall counsell of God before the foundations of the world were laid, as we were elected in him, and as he was the Lamb killed from the beginning; which death also was decreed in the same counsell of God to be in a certein time appointed; and that so certenly, that neither could the malice of any creature prevent the houre appointed of God thereto, neither yet could any policie or chance impede or transferre the same to any other tyme. For how oft Christ was afore assaulted, the Evangelistes do witnes; but alwaies his answere was, "My houre is not yet come." And what impedimentes did occure immediatly before his death, is also evident. The feast of Easter was instant,[2] the fame of Christ was great, the favor of the people with publick voices was declared, and the counsels of the Hie Priestes and Seniors had decreed, that, to avoid sedition, his death should be delayed till after that feast. But all these were shortly overthrowen, and Christ did suffer in the verey tyme appointed, as he before had forespoken.

But now to the instrumentes which serve in this mater,

[1] "Vendicat," to arrogate. [2] "Was instant," was at that time.

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and whether they were compelled by God or not. Judas, we know, was not one of the least; and what moved him the Holie Ghost doeth witnes, to witt, his avariciousnes. The Scribes, Pharisies, Priestes and Seniors, and people, led, some of malice and envie, some to gratifie their rulers, and altogether of set purpose to crucifie Christ, do consent with Judas. Pilate, albeit he long refused, and by divers meanes studied to delyver Christ, yet in the end, for fear of displeasure, aswell of the priestes and people, as of the Emperor, he willingly, without all compulsion of God's part, pronounced an unjust sentence of deathe against Christ Jesus; which his soldiours also most willingly did execute. Thus, I say, we see that the creatures and their willes, without all compulsion, do serve God's counsell and purpose.

Here I know, that ye think that either I write against myself, or els that I conclude a great absurditie: For, if I say that God did nothing but foresee these thinges, and so permitted them (as after you speak) to folow their own train; that he worketh no more but as a simple beholder of a tragedie; then do I agree with you. And if I do say (as in verey dede I do understand and affirme,) that the eternall counsell and purpose of God did so reule in all these thinges, that rather they did serve to God's purpose and most just will, then fulfill their most wicked willes; then will you cry, Blasphemie, and say that I deliver the Devill, Adam, and all the wicked, frome sinne, of the which I make God to be author. To the first I have answered before, that as I seperate not God's foreknowledge from his counsell, so do I affirme that He worketh all in all thinges, according to the purpose of the same his good will; and yet that he useth no violence, neither in compelling his creatures, neither constreining their willes by any externall force, neither yet taking their willes from them, but in all wisdom and justice using them as he knoweth most expedient for the manifestation of his glorie, without any violence, I say, done to their willes. For violence is done to the will of a crea-

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When violence is done to the will of a creature.

ture, when it willeth one thing, and yet by force, by tyranny, or by a greater power, it is compelled to do the thinges which it wold not; as if a pudique[1] and honest matron, or chaste virgine, should be deprehended[2] alone by a wicked and filthie man, who with violence and force (thoghe the will of the woman did plainely repine[3]) did deflowre and corrupte her. This is violence done to the will, and she of necessitie was compelled to suffer that ignominie and shame, which nevertheles she most abhorred.

Do we say that God did (or doeth) any such violence to his creatures? Did he compell Sathan to tempt the woman, when his will was contrarie thereto? Did the will of Adame resist the temptation of the woman, and did he so hate and abhorre to eate of that fruite, that it behoved God to compell his will repugning thereto to eat of it, and so to break his commandements? or, did he not rather willingly hear and obey the voice of his wyfe? Consider, I beseech you, how plainely we put a difference betwixt violence, which you call mere Necessitie, and God's secrete counsell and eternall purpose.

The grudgeing of the Reprobat.

But yet ye crie, "Wherein then did man offend? Who can resist the will of God? Why doth he complein, seing that his counsell and purpose, by such meanes, is broght to passe?" Do ye not understand that these were the furious cries of those to whom Saint Paul imposeth silence, with this sentence, "O man, what art thou that darest reason against God?" &c.

Rom. 9

Why creatures offend when they most serve God's counsel.

But lest that ye complein (as your common custom is) of our obscuritie and darke speaking, I will even in one or two wordes declare, Why the creatures offend even when they serve most effectually to God's purpose; to witt, becaus that they neither have the glorie of God in their actions before their eies, neither yet mynd they to serve nor obey God's purpose and will. Sathan, in tempting man, studied nothing to promote God's glo-

[1] "Pudique," (in the edit. 1591, strangely altered to "publique,") modest, chaste.

[2] "Deprehended," assaulted, taken unawares.

[3] "Repine," or repugn, resist.

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rie; man, in obeying the temptation, looked not to the counsell of God; Judas, Ananias, Pilate, the soldiours, and the rest, had nothing less in mind then mannes redemption to be performed by their counsells and wicked workes. And therefor, of God's justice, were they everie one reputed sinners; yea, and some of them reprobated for ever. If these reasons do not satisfie you, yet shall they be a testimonie what is our doctrine; and, as I trust, shall also be a reasonable contentation to the godlie and simple reader. More would I have spoken in the same matter, and so to have put end unto it at once; but becaus that after, by the reason of your most unjust accusations, I wilbe compelled to have to do with you againe, I abyde opportunitie.

Now to your reasons: Mannes will, I say, in the self remained free, notwithstanding that God in his eternall counsell had decreed his fall; and that becaus no violence, as before is declared, was done unto it. The will of our Master and Saviour Christ Jesus, notwithstanding the immutable decree of his death, appointed to be at a certein time, was so free, that albeit the power of nature might have given unto him mo yeares of life; and also that the humaine nature did abhorre the cruell and ignominious death; yet did he subject bothe his will and the power of nature unto the will of his heavenlie Father; as he doeth witnes, saying, "Not that I will, Father, but let that be done which thou willest." Luk. 22.

God's Will is free althogh it change not as occasion is offered by men's doings.

Wonder it is, that ye can not see how God's will can remaine in libertie, except that he abyde in suspence or dowte, and so daily and hourely change his purpose and counsell, as occasion is offered unto him by men and by their actions. If this be to make God bounde, and to take frome him libertie, to affirme that he is infinite in wisdom, infinite in goodnes, infinite in justice, and infinite in power, so doeth he most constantly, most freely, most justlie, and most wisely, bring that to passe which in his eternall counsell he hath determined; if this, I say, be to take from God freedom, wisdome, and libertie, as ye do rayle, I

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must confess myself a transgressor. But if your cogitations and foolishe conclusions of his eternal Godhead, be, as, alas! too manifestly ye declare yourselves, so prophane, so carnal, and so wicked, that long, you abiding in the same, can not escaip God's just vengeance; repent, before that in his anger he arrest, and declare that your justice, wherof so much ye bragge, is manifest blasphemie against his dear Sonne Christ Jesus! God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve his small flock from your vennom and most dangerous heresies, and stoppe your blasphemous mouthes, that thus dare jeast upon God, as if he were one of your companions, saying, "Then is he a goodly wyse God; Then is God bounde himself," &c.

THE 20TH SECTION.

THE ADVERSARIE.

Rom. 9. The third argument gather they upon that which is written to the Romanes, the ninthe chapter, "Afore the children were borne, that the purpose of God by Election might stand, it was said, The elder shall serve the yonger: as it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated." For the true understanding of this Scripture, we must know first that these wordes,
1. "The elder shall serve the yonger," are not spoken of Jacob and Esau (for as concerning the flesh, Esau did never serve Jacob), but they are spoken of two nations which were to come of them; as the Lord said to Rebecca, not two men, but "two nations are in thy bellie." And these wordes, "Afore the children were born," are not to be referred to the sentence which foloweth,
2. "Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated." For there was no such thing spoken afore their birthe (as thow may plainely see in Genesis); but that was
Malach. 1. spoken many yeres after by the Prophete Malachie: not of Jacob and Esau, but of two nations, of the Israelites and Edomites, as the Prophete Malachie expoundeth; which we may well understand of the True Church and of the Malignant Churche. If that had been spoken afore their birthe, then had the
3. Lord not said, "Jacob I have loved, and Esau I have hated," in the preterit tence; but "Jacob shall I love, and Esau shall I hate," in the future tence. As in the other sentence he saieth, "The elder shall serve the yonger," and
4. not "The elder hath served the yonger." Now the Lord loved Jacob of his own bountifull goodnes and free grace. Esau he hated because of his wickednes; for the Lord abhorred all wicked doers. As Moses saieth, "It is not for thy righteousnes' sake, or for thy right heart, that thow goest to possesse their land, but for the wickednes of these nations, the Lord thy God doeth cast them out before thee, even to perfourm the word which the Lord thy God swore unto thy fathers, Abraham, Isaak, and Jacob." Here we see how that

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the Israelites receave the land of promise, not for their own righteousnes' saik, but onely by the bountifull goodnes of God. Againe, the Cananites are cast out of the same land, not becaus it was God's pleasure, or that he delyted in their fall, but for their abominations which they committed against God. So that Jacob is beloved, it cometh of the free grace and goodnes of God; and that Esau is hated, it cometh of his own evill deserving; conform to the saing of the Lord, "Thy destruction, O Israell, is of thyself, and thy health cometh of me."

Answer.

Your colde and unsaverie exposition which ye (following the prophane subtilitie of Castalio) make upon the wordes of the Apostle, written in the nynth chapter to the Romains, is neither able to justifie your error, neither yet to improve the doctrine which upon the same we collect and gather, which is this: That as God by his free benediction seperated the people of Israel from all nations of the earth, so did his free election make difference betwixt the men of the same people, of whom he did freely choose some to salvation, and did appoint others to eternal condemnation. Secondarely, that of this his free election, there is none other cause nor foundation but his mere goodnes, as also his mercie; which after the fall of Adam doeth, without all respect had to their works, receave and embrasse whom it pleaseth him. Thirdly, that God in this his free election is bound to no necessitie to offer the same to all indifferently, but contrarie wise he passed by such as it pleaseth him, and whom it pleaseth him he receaveth. These propositions, I say, are so evident in Paules wordes, that they never can be moved by your malicious and ignorant wresting of the text; for in everie one of Paules sentences, he striveth directly against your error. For where he saieth, "Rebecca conceaved of one, that is of our father Isaak," he secludeth all cause that might have bene by accidents, which come in tyme, either in the father or in the mother; and in these wordes, "When the children were not yet born, and had neither done good nor evill," he secludeth all respect that can be alledged to have beene in the

To the 1.

The mynd of the Apostle in the 9 chapiter to the Romains, concerning Jacob and Esau.

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children. But where he saieth, "That the purpose of God might abide according to Election, not of workes, but of the caller," &c., is plainely denied merits, dignitie, or workes to come, to be any cause of God's free Election. For if he wold have persuaded men to have beleved that God had Elected some in respect of their good workes to come, and had rejected others for their evill workes onely, which he foresaw that they should do, Paul had not so vehemently urged these termes and sentences, "That the purpose of God might abyde according to Election, not of workes," &c.; but he should simply have said, God hath chosen some in respect of their good workes, which he foresaw they should do, which therefore he wold reward, first with his Election, and after with his kingdome. But the plaine contrarie way to this we see the Apostle useth, pulling man altogither from contemplation of himself to God, to his free mercie, to his free grace and eternall purpose, and also to his most deepe and profounde judgements. Imagine what shift so ever ye can, ye shall never be able to avoid this plaine simplicitie of the Apostle.

To the 1. With what face can ye denie that these wordes, "The elder shall serve the yonger," are not spoken of Jacob and Esau, seing that the Apostle in plaine wordes doeth affirm that they were spoken and ment of the two children before they were born? He saieth not, before the two nations were born, but "before the children were born." Your reason is, becaus, as concerning the fleshe, Esau did never serve Jacob. I answer, neither yet did God say, the elder shall serve the yonger in the fleshe, but simply did pronounce, "The elder shall serve the yonger." But well do ye declare what is your understanding of dominion and servitude, be it in fleshe or be it in spirit.

Esau some manner of way served Jacob in the fleshe. Was it no kinde of servitude, I pray you, yea, even in the fleshe, that Esau was compelled to begge potage at Jacob, and for the same to sell all title of his birthright? Was it no thraldome, that with crying, owling, and furious rores, he was compelled to begge the benediction which Jacob had gotten, and yet

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could not obtain it? Did not his heart feele subjection when he seeth his father so constant in preferring Jacob to him, that by no meanes he wold retreat or call back one worde. We do not denie but the diversitie was also established betwixt the two nations, but that the heades should be secluded, that are ye never able to prove. But rather the battell which did beginne in the mother's wombe, was established and confirmed by the oracle of God, to continue betwixt the posterity of those two heades. Did Rebecca, and Isaak after he did see God's providence and will to be contrarie to that which he had purposed (which was to give the benediction to Esau), did they, I say, understand that Jacob had no parte in that promise touching his own person? The wordes of Isaak do witnes the contrarie, for he saieth, "I have established him lord over thee," &c. Gen. 27.

By the same reason which ye make, I may prove that these wordes were not spoken of their posterities, for during longer time then either did Jacob or Esau live, the Edomites did not serve the Israelites in the fleshe, which did onely beginne in the latter days of David, and did continue to the daies of Joram (son of Josaphat), when they departed from that obedience; neither yet were they ever after that broght into subjection againe. But be, therefore, the oracles and promises of God vaine? Yea, had they not their effect, both in the one people and in the other, even when the one was in moste miserable bondage, first in Egypt, and after in Babylon, and when the other was in greatest felicitie, to mannes apperance? Yet befor God was that sentence true, "The elder shall serve the yonger:" for he had further respect then the present estate, as the Apostle doeth declare that all the faithfull Patriarkes had. Jacob wold not have interchanged the comfort which he receaved in his first journey from his father's house for all the worldlie joy that Esau possessed. For in seing that scale or ladder, God sitting upon the head of it, the foote of it touching the earthe, upon the which did Angelles ascend and come down, and in hearing that most joyfull and comfortable voice, "I am the God of Gen. 28.

2 Reg. 8.

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Abraham thy father, and of Isaak; the land wherupon thow sleepest, I will give to thee, and to thy seede, &c. And lo, I am with thee, and will keepe thee whether soever thou goest, and will bring thee againe into this land:" in seing and hearing these thinges, I say, did Jacob understand that the benediction of God extended further then to temporall things, yea, that rather it did extend to that union and conjunction which was betwixt God and man in that blessed Seede promised, then to the possession of the land of Canaan. For the one did neither Abraham, Isaak, nor Jacob possesse in their lives, neither yet their posteritie many years after; but the joy of the other did all the Elect feele and see, and did rejoice, as Christ Jesus doeth witnes of our father Abraham.

To the 2. That these wordes, "Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated," are not written in Genesis, neither yet are spoken of God unto Rebecca, none of us denieth; but that which ye thereof inferre, to witt, that therefor they are not to be referred to that sentence, which Paul alledgeth, "Before the children were borne, [or] yet they did either good or bad," proceedeth either of your blind ignorance, or els of your malicious despite, which against the free grace of God ye have conceaved for establishing of your own justice.

Trew it is, these wordes were spoken by Malachie the Prophete, after the reduction of the people from the captivitie of Babylon. But when we have a little considered the scope and purpose of the Prophete, then shall we first consider, Whether he did understand the love of God and his hatred to appertein to the two peoples onely, and not also to the two original heades: And after, we shall see, Whether the mynd and plaine wordes of Paul will suffer and bear your interpretation or not.

The place of the Prophete Malachie. Shortly after that the people of Israel, I mean the tribes of Juda, Benjamin, and Levi, were, by the miraculous work of God, after the bondage of seventy yeres, set at libertie and broght againe to Jerusalem; in which they did re-edifie the temple, repaire the walles, and beginne to multiplie, and so to grow to

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some strength within the citie and land; they fall to their old nature, I mean to be ungrate and unthankfull unto God. The people were slothfull; and the priestes, who should have provoked the people to the remembrance of those great benefites, were become even like to the rest. The Lord therefor did raise up his Prophete Malachie, (who was the last before Christ,) sharply to rebuke, and plainely to convict this horrible ingratitude of that unthankfull nation, who so shamefully had forgotten those so great benefits recently bestowed upon them. And thus beginneth he his Prophecie: "I have loved you, saieth the Lord;" in which wordes he speaketh not of a common love, which in preserving and feeding all creatures is common to the reprobate, but of that love by the which he had sanctified and seperated them from the rest of nations, to have his glorie manifested. But becaus they (as all ungrate persons do) did not consider wherin this his love towardes them more then towards others did stand, he bringeth them to the fountain, demanding this question: "Was not Esau brother to Jacob? saith the Lord, and nevertheless Jacob have I loved, and Esau I have hated." And this he proveth, not onely by the diversitie of the two countreis which were given to their posterities, but also by that, that God continually shewed himself loving to Jacob and to his posteritie, reducing them againe after long captivitie; declaring himself, as it were, ennemy to Edom, whose desolation he wold never restore, but wold distroy that which they should go about to build.

Let now the godlie reader judge, whether that the mynd of the Prophete was to seclude Jacob in his person from the love of God, and Esau from his hatred; or that it was not rather to rebuke the unthankfulness of the people, who did not consider that undeserved love which God did shew to their first father while he was yet in his mother's bosome. For where he saieth, "Was not Esau brother to Jacob?" he wold put them in mynd that Jacob had no prerogative above Esau, yea, that he was inferior to him as concerning the law of

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nature, and therefor that he ought to have beene subject unto him; but God of free grace did preferre the yonger to the elder, which love and preferment he constantly did kepe to his seede after him.

This I am assured can no godlie man denie to be the verey meaning of the Prophete. Trew it is that he doth include both the peoples, the one loved and the other hated. But what reason is it that the heades shall be secluded, seing that the beginning of the diversities did first appere in them; and the Prophete plainely saieth, "Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated?" Now, to the mind of the Apostle: You say, that these wordes, "Afore the children were born," are not to be referred to the sentence which foloweth, "Jacob have I loved, Esau have I hated;" and the cause ye add, as we before have declared. I answer, that the most just judgements of God are fearefull, and your blindnes ought to admonishe all men to examine themselves with what conscience they go to intreate God's secrete mysteries. If that sentence, "Before the children were born," ought not to be referred to these wordes, "Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated," I pray you to what wordes ought they to be referred? Did the Apostle speak them at all adventure, without respect to any thing folowing? I trust ye will grant asmuch as God spake, to witt, that before the children were born, God said, "The elder shal serve the yonger." And then I pray you answer, Whether ye think that the preferment of Jacob to Esau proceded from love or frome hatred? or If the subjection of Esau to his brother was not a declaration of God's hatred? If you denie, yet will the Prophete condemne you, as before we have proved; ye can not escaip with the solution, which a writer defending Free will giveth, which is this: "That there mention is made onely of temporall and carnal benediction, ment under the name of love; and of povertie, with barrennes of grounde, understand by the name of hatred:" which solution is so colde that it perisheth in the self. For I think no man to be so blynd, but that he seeth the mynd of the

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Apostle to be bent upon the spirituall benediction, as in his whole disputation is evident.

But let it be that the corporall benediction (which we utterly exclude not) be there understand and ment, yet that neither helpeth him nor you. For wheresoever God's established love is, there is life; wheresoever his established hatred is, there is death: but upon Jacob and upon his seede (spiritual I mean) was established the love of God, as the Prophete affirmeth, and our Apostle most profoundely alledgeth; and upon Esau and upon his posteritie was established and confirmed the hatred; *ergo*, upon him and them remained death. Consider now how that the Apostle, after these wordes, "The elder shall serve the yonger," joyneth this sentence, "As it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau I have hated." In which wordes the Holie Ghost agreeth together the wordes of the Prophete and the wordes of God spoken to Rebecca, and maketh the one to interprete the other. For where God saieth, "The elder shall serve," that expondeth the Prophete, "God hated Esau;" and where he pronounceth dominion to the yonger, that the Prophete explaneth, saying, "Jacob have I loved." And when did God thus love the one and hate the other, pronouncing the one to be lord and the other to be servant? "While they were yet (saieth he) in their mother's wombe, and before they had either done good or bad." Denie now if ye can, that the former wordes ought not to be referred to the subsequentes: Your malicious myndes compell me often to repeate one thing.

Your reasoning of the preterit and future tence is so foolishe, that it nedeth no confutation. For we confesse that God spake not those wordes to Rebecca, but that the Prophete, as is declared, spake them after; by the which he sendeth them to the ancient love of God, which began before that ever their father could know or serve God. In which is to be noted, that he maketh neither mention of Abraham nor of Isaak, but of Jacob, and of Jacob in his mother's wombe, to pull doune this pryde, which ye, with the Pelagians and Papistes, have conceaved of

To the 8.

Why the Apostle maketh neither mention of Abraham nor of Isaak, but of Jacob, and of Jacob being in his mother's wombe.

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your workes going before, and foresene by God to folow in you. But the Prophete of God did so daunton the stout heartes of that his people (were they in other thinges never so wicked), that they did not alledge that any cause was either in their father or in them, why that they or he should be preferred to other nations, and specially to the Edomites, who discended from Esau, in all thinges like to Jacob, God's onely grace excepted.

To the 4. I praise God, that so far ye will confess of God's eternall trueth, that it was not for their righteousnes that Israel receaved the inheritance, but onely becaus God frely loved their fathers. But why so sodanly ye slyde frome the principall purpose, leaving Esau and his posteritie, and do enter to speak why the Cananites were cast furth, I see no just cause. For neither doeth Moses, in the first oracle of God; neither the Prophete Malachie, in explaning the same; neither yet our Apostle, in applying bothe those places to the spiritual benediction, lay the seede of Jacob against the Cananites; but Jacob is set against Esau, and the people discending frome the one against the people that discended frome the other. The question there might justly have been demanded, What prerogative hath Jacob above Esau? Moses, the Prophete, and the Apostle, do answer, assuredly none, except onely grace, which made difference betwixt them, whom nature in all thinges had made equall. For bothe were come of Abraham, both of one father, both of one mother, both conceaved at once, both fostered under one climate, region, influence of sterres, and yet it was said, "The elder shall serve the yonger."

The grace of God onelie made the difference betwixt Jacob and Esau.

We know that the Cananites came of a cursed father; whom, if Paule should have compared with the Israelites, they should have complained of injurie done unto them. And his reasons had bene easely dissolved; for if he had said, The Election of God is free, and hath respect to no workes, and had broght in the seede of Abraham elected, and the seede of Cham rejected and accursed, for probation of the same, they sodanly should,

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and justly might have replied, Cham mocked his father, and therefor was he and his posteritie accursed, and so had God respect to workes. But the Apostle looketh more circumspectly to so grave a mater, and therefor did choose such an example as wherin the witt nor reason of man can find no cause of inequalitie. Of this I thoght good to put you and the readers in mind, lest perchance ye should imagin, that as great cause of reprobation was found in Esau before he was born, as Moses laith to the charge of the Cananites; and so I perceave in a part ye do. For in the end, and after ye have affirmed that the Cananites were cast out of the land by reason of their wickednes, ye return to Esau, (repenting yourselves, I trust, that so imprudentlie ye had slipped from one linage to an other,) and these wordes ye affirme, "That Esau is hated, commeth of his own evill deserving, conforme to the saying of the Lord, 'Thy destruction, O Israell, is of thyself, and thy health cometh of me.'"

An Answer.

In which affirmation and pretended probation of the same, I fynd no less negligence in you then before I have shewen and proven. For as most impudently before ye confounded the seede of Abraham, who by God's own mouth was blessed, with the seede of Cham, who in expressed wordes was accursed; so here ye confound Israel, elected of God to be his people in Jacob, with Edom, rejected from that honor in their father Esau, before that either the one did good or the other did evill. The wordes of the Prophete, which ye bring to prove that Esau was hated for his evill deserving, was neither spoken to him nor to his posteritie, but they were spoken to that people whom God had preferred to all nations of the earthe, to whom he had shewen his manifold graces, and to whom he had bene salvation and help, even in their most desperate calamitie; but then, for their defection from him, and for their idolatrie committed, were become most afflicted and miserable, dailie tending to further destruction. To these, I say, and not to Esau, nor yet to his posteritie. did God say, "O, Israel, thow hast

The place of Hoseas by the Anabaptistes wrested, is restored to the natural meanyng.

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destroyed thyself," or, "O, Israel, it hath destroyed thee," for so is the Hebrew text; "for in me is thy health." In which wordes he repressed the grudgeing and the murmuring of the people, who in their miserie did rather accuse God of crueltie, then repent or acknowledge their sinnes and idolatrie to be the cause of their ruyne, as in Ezechiel well may be sene. To such God saieth, "Israel, thow art in moste extreme miserie, thy honor is decayed, and the glorie of thy former age is now turned to ignominie and shame. What is the cause? It lieth not in me; for as I am eternall and immutable, so is not my hand shortened this day, neither yet my power diminished more then when I did deliver thee frome the bondage of Egipt. In me is thy health now, as it was then, yf that thy sinnes did not make seperation betwixt thee and me." Plaine it is, first, that here no mention is made of Esau nor Edom, but of Israel onely; and secondarely, that God speaketh nothing in this place why he did first elect Jacob and reject Esau, but why it was that Israel, which some tymes was honorable, and feared of all nations, was then becom most miserable and afflicted on all sides. Except that you be able to prove that Esau committed as manifest idolatrie before he was borne, and before that Jacob was preferred unto him, as Israel did before they came to destruction, ye have proved nothing of your affirmation. Further, I say, that if Esau was hated for his evill deserving, then must it nedes follow that Jacob was loved for his well deserving, by the argument folowing of the nature of the contraries.

Quia contrariorum eadem est ratio.

But that directly repugneth to the wordes of Moises, to the interpretation of all the Prophetes, and to the mind and strong reasons of the Apostle, who plainely denie workes by past or to cum to be any cause of God's free Election. Trew it is, we be Elected in Christ Jesus to be holie, and to walk in good workes which God hath prepared. But everie reasonable man knoweth what difference there is betwixt the cause and the effect. Election (in which I include the Free grace and favor of God)

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is the fountaine frome which springeth faith, and faith is the mother of all good workes. But what foolishnes were it therefore to reason: "My workes are the cause of my faith, and my faith is the cause of my Election." Thus gently I put you in mynd with greater reverence and circumspection to interpret and applie the sacred Word of God. Thus ye proceede.

THE ADVERSARIE.

THE 21ST SECTION.

Their fourth argument, "Hath not the potter power over the clay, even of the same lompe to make one vessel unto honor, and another unto dishonor." Of this they inferre, that God hath ordeined and made some to salvation, and some to destruction and damnation. But for the more perfect understanding of this place, afore thow go any further, reade the xviii. chapter of Jeremie, and thow shalt perceave this to be the meaning: As the potter hath the clay in his hand, so hath God all men in his power; and as the potter breaketh the vessel wherin is found an incurable faulte, so God destroieth the man in whom there is found obstinate wickednes which can not be amended. It is not the meaning of this place, that God, without any just cause, doeth make any man to destruction. For as the potter maketh no vessel to breake, yet notwithstanding he may, but he will not lose both his clay and his labor, but onely breaketh such as will not frame to be good, notwithstanding he made them to be good; as everie good artificer wold his work were good; so God created no man to lose him, but onely loseth them which will not be good whom he created to be good: as the Lord saieth, "I planted thee a noble vyne and a good roote, whose sede is all faithfull, how art thow then turned into bitter, unfrutefull, and strange grapes?" God wold all men were good, and that all men should be saved; forasmuch as He is good himself, and all that he maketh is good. But as the potter maketh of the same clay, some vessels to serve at the table, some in the kitchen or in the privey; so God hath some men to be in the bodie of Christ, as eies, eares, and hands, as Princes, Prophetes, Apostles; some to be as fete and other secrete partes, as laborers, and other of the inferior sorte, for whom he hath not bestowed so many and so excellent gyftes; yet must thow understand, that it is not all one thing to be made to be broken, and to be made to unhonest uses: Everie vessel which is evill is broken, whether it be made to honest or dishonest uses; yea, thogh it were made of gold; and as it appereth plainely in Jeremie, where the Lord saieth so, "Thogh Conias, the son of Joacim,[1] King of Juda, were the signet of my right hand, yet will I pluck him of:" and therafter, "This man Conias shalbe lyke an image robbed, and torne in peces." Hath a man any

1. 2. 3. 4. Rom. 9. 5. 6.

[1] In our version, "Coniah the son of Jehoiakim."

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7. thing appointed for a more honest use then his signet? yet seest thow, that if it become noght it shall be broken and distroied. Againe, everie good vessell, whether it be made to honest or dishonest uses, it is kept, and not broken. Aske the potter, and he shall answer thee, that he will be lothe to break any vessell; but if any chance to be naught, he sheweth his power in breaking of it. Ask the husbandman, and he shall answer thee, that he planted no frute tree to be barren; but if it chance to be barren, he cutteth it doune, and planteth another in steede of it. Ask the magistrate, and he shall answer thee, that it is not his will to kill any of his subjects, for he wold that they were all good; but if any becom a theif and murtherer, he sheweth his power even over him in killing him. Even so saith God, "I will not the death of the sinner, but rather that he converte and live." I will not that any man be
8. evill, and therefor I forbyd all evil; but if any man, contrarie to my commandement and will, of his own free choise and mynd, refuse the good which he might have accepted, and doeth the evill which he might have left undone, then do I shewe my power over him, in that I cast him away like the shardes of a naughtie pott, which serveth to no good use.

ANSWER.

Why, for the more perfect understanding of Paules mynd, any man should rather read the wordes of Jeremie, written in the xviii. chapter of his Prophecie, then the wordes written in xlviii. chapter of the Prophete Isaiah, I see no just cause. For plaine it is, that the Prophete Jeremie in that place hath no respect to God's eternal Election. He disputeth not why God hath appointed in his eternal counsell some to lief and some to death, but reteineth himself within the limits and boundes of the mater which then he intreated: Which was to assure the Jewes, that God would eject them from that same land which to Abraham he had promised, and had given to his posteritie, and yet wold he preserve them to be a people such as he thoght good. This doctrine was strange, and to many incredible. For it appereth to repugne to God's promise, who had pronounced, that to Abraham and his seede he wold give that land for ever. Much trouble and contradiction (as may be seen) did the Prophete suffer for the teaching and affirming this former doctrine. And therefor it pleased the mercie and wisdom of God, by dyvers meanes, to strengthen and confirme

The place of Jeremy.

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him in the same. Amongest which this was one, that commanding him to go downe to a potter's house, he promised to speak with him there; that is, to give unto him further knowledge and revelation of his will: who when he came, found the potter, as is written, making a clay pott upon his rote and turning whele; which pot in his presence did break, but the potter immediatly gathering up the pot sherdes, did fashion and forme it anew, and made it another vessell, even as best pleased him. And then came the worde of the Lorde upon the Prophete, saying, "May I not do unto you, O house of Israel, even as this potter doeth? Behold, ye are in my hand, O house of Israel, even as the clay is in the hand of the potter." By which fact sene, and wordes after heard, was the Prophet more confirmed in that which before he had taught, to witt, that God, for just causes, wold destroy and break downe the estate and policie of that common welthe, and yet, nevertheles, wold repair and build it up againe, to such an estate as best pleased his wisdome; as the sequele did declare. For that great multitude, corrupt with sin, he brak downe, dispersing and scattering them amongest diverse nations; and yet after, he did collect and gather them togither, and so made them a people, of whome the head of all justice, Christ Jesus, did spring.

To prove this, may be adduced the 31. chapter of Jeremie.

But what hath this to do with the eternall Election of God, by the which he hath Elected some to life everlasting, whom our Apostle calleth "vessels of mercie," and hath left others in their own corruption and perpetuall condemnation? And so, I say, because that Jeremie intreateth one thing, that is, a temporall punishment and the mutation which shortly should folowe in Jerusalem, and the Apostle intreateth another, as before is said; the one can be no exposition to the other, but rather the Apostle hath respect, or at least alludeth to the saying of Isaiah, which thus speaketh: "Wo to be to him that striveth with his Maker! the vessel of clay with the potter of clay. Shall the clay say to his potter, What makest thow?" In which wordes (as before we have more largely spoken) the

Isaiah 45.

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Prophete, and the Apostle folowing his phrase, represseth the pryde of man, who, compared to God, is much more inferior to his Majestie then clay compared to the potter. For God hath created and made man when he was not, which thing the potter did not to the clay of which he maketh the diversitie of pottes; and therefor of right hath God more power over man then hath the potter over clay. This I doubt not to be the mynd of the Holie Ghost in both the places. In which similitude is further to be considered, that as the potter doeth no injurie to the clay, what forme soever he giveth it, (for the mater and substance of it he doeth not change,) so doeth not God wrong to the verey reprobate, whom he prepareth to be vessels of wrath, for that are they of nature. Where that ye say, that it is not the meaning of this place, that God, without all just causes, doeth make anie man to destruction; none of us doeth hold the contrarie, for we affirme that the causes of reprobation are most just; but yet we say, that they are incomprehensible to man.

God doeth wrong to none of his creatures, howsoever he maketh them.

That ye give to God no greater power, nor none other will, then to your "good artificer," consider with yourself, how undiscretely ye matche His eternal Godhead (whose power is infinite, and whose determined will no creature can resist) with creatures that be but impotent, unwise, and often disappointed of their purpose and will. Trew it is, that no artificer willingly wold lose his clay and labore, but is compelled to break those that be faultie. But this procedeth partly frome his ignorance, who did not before know and see the fault which was in the matter; and partly of his impotencie, who can not at his will otherwies remedie the faultie vessell, but onely by breaking the same. But dare ye, or will ye, impute upon God those imperfections? So ye seme to do, for this ye write: "So God created no man to lose him, but onely loseth them that wold not be good whom he created to be good; as the Lord saieth, I planted thee a noble vyne."

To the 3.

To the 4.

The choif end of mannes creation, we have before declared

Answer.

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to be the glorie of God; which if you can not see shine in the just condemnation of the reprobate, accuse your blindnes. That God created the reprobate to the day of destruction, Salomon affirmeth, as often before is said. But that he was created to be good, that will not the wordes of the Prophete, which ye adduce, prove: for in that place there is no mention made of creation, but of plantation, which is a thing far different from creation. The substance which was before is planted, that by manuring and travale of the planter it may be better; but creation importeth the being of the substance which before was not. And so the Prophete in this place, which ye alledge to prove that God created all men to be good, meaneth no such thing, but onely rebuketh the Israelites, who, long after their creation, were planted by the hand of God, and were continualy watered by his Prophetes, and yet did they bring furth no better frute. How that God wold all men were good, and also that all men should be saved, we shall, God willing, after speak. How that God remaining good for ever, man his creature fell frome his original goodnes, I have before spoken, and will not now trouble the reader with the repetition of the same.

Another place of Jeremy explained.

In the difference which ye make betwixt the vessels which the potter maketh, some to serve the table, and some the kitching, or privie, of which he breaketh none but such as be faultie, ye utterly disagree from the mind and plaine wordes of the Holie Ghost. For S. Paul calleth not the vessels of honor, Princes, or Prophetes, and Apostles; and the vessels of dishonour, the laborers and inferior sort of men: but the one he calleth the vessels of mercie, and the other he calleth the vessels of wrath. The one he feareth not to affirme to be prepared and ordeined to destruction, that the severe judgement of God against sinne may appere in them; the other to be prepared to glorie, that the riches of his mercie may be praised for ever. This plaine simplicitie will not the Apostle recant, neither yet thereof (God assisting us) will we be ashamed, how so ever ye rage and blaspheme the veritie. And this I say, that your

To the 5.

What S. Paul meaneth by vessels of honor and dishonor.

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difference betwixt honest and unhonest vessels, and betwixt those that shalbe broken and not be broken, is altogether besides the purpose of the Apostle. And so of Conyas, son of Joacim, ye can prove no more but that God wold deprive him frome his kingdome, and frome the seat of David, in which unworthelie he did reigne. If he was the reprobate, then althogh he was King, yet was he the vessell of dishonor; for these wordes, "Althogh he were the signet in my right hand," are not spoken to declare that in very dede he was the signet in the hand of God, but are spoken against the foolish presumption of him, and of the Jewes, which living most wickedly, did yet nevertheles brag, and boast that God could not leave the seat of David voide, but that one of his seede must for ever sit on it.

And this is evident, if the text be well marked. For where he saieth, "Althogh he were the signet," he sufficiently declareth that so he was not; and so I say that those wordes prove nothing of your purpose. For first must ye prove, that because he was a King, therefor he was a vessell of honor, in such sense
2 as S. Paul speaketh. And secondarely, ye must prove, that he was Elected to the life everlasting, because it is said, that albeit he were a signet in the right hand of God, yet should he be plucked of: which by plaine Scriptures to do, will be more then hard for you, how so ever that ye brag, that ye will prove all your purpose by Scriptures. Where ye send us to ask of the potter, of the husband man, and of the magistrate, if any of them wold willingly break his vessell, plante a tree to be barren, or kill any of his subjects; we send you, as befor, to ask counsel at the plaine Scriptures, whether that in God there is not a greater knowledge, greater power, and a justice more perfect, althogh it be incomprehensible to our dull senses, then that their is in the potter, husband man, or magistrate.

How that God will not the death of the sinner, but rather that he may converte and live, we shall shortlie, God willing,

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after speak. And therefore omitting that which indigestly you heape togither, I procede to that which foloweth.

THE ADVERSARIE.

THE 22D SECTION.

Where ye replie with that it lieth not in mannes will or ronning, but in the mercie of God, I answer, by the same sentence that ye may both will and ronne; which is contrarie to your whole purpose and doctrine: and yet, saith the Apostle, our salvation dependeth of the mercie of God, for it is his free gift. The Gentiles, which for their wickednes, were reject of God, in vaine should they either will or ronne, without God extended his mercie towardes them, as he doeth now presently. Lyke as on the other side, the Jewes, which for their sinnes be now abject, in vaine should they either will or ronne, without it pleased God to extend his mercie over them, as he shall do after that the fulnes of the Gentiles be come in, as witnesseth Paul. For there we must understand, that when it pleased God to offer us his mercie, yet without we both will and ronne, we shall not obtein the reward; notwithstanding, neither for our willing or ronning are we worthie to receave salvation, for it is the free gift of God, which he giveth to us onely for his own mercies saik. God offered salvation to Jerusalem, not for the deserving, but of his mercie; yet obteined they not salvation, because they wold neither will nor ronne. As Christ saith, "How often wold I have gathered thy children, as the hen doeth her chekens, and thow woldest not!" so the Scribes and the Phariseis made the counsell of God towardes them of none effect, for they dispised it: God's will was to save them, but they wold neither will nor ronne, but kepe still their old passe;[1] so they perished. Wherefor unto our salvation is required chiefly the mercie of God, as the onely sufficient and the efficient cause thereof, whereby we being unworthie and his ennemies, be reconciled and receaved unto the fellowship of the saintes. Secondly, is required that we both will and ronne, not as the cause, but rather as the effect and frute of our reconciliation, declaring our selves to be thankfull for the benefits which we have freely without our merits receaved; otherwise the kingdom shalbe taken from us againe, and geven to such as shall both will and ronne, bringing forth the fruites thereof.

1. Rom. 11.
2.
3.
4.
5.

God continew you in this Confession.

ANSWER.

Your ancient father Pelagius, conjured ennemie to the free grace of God, did bragge and boast, as you do, that in man there was a will and a ronning. But the probation of both is one; that is to say, your affirmation must suffice for auctoritie. You boldly write, that of those wordes of the Apostle, "Nei-

[1] "Passe," in edit. 1591, "pace."

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ther it is of him that willeth, neither yet of him that ronneth, but of God having mercie," it is plaine that "we bothe will and ronne." But how is this proved? Your long discourse (in which it semeth that ye have forgotten yourself) proveth no part of your purpose. For the question is not, What either the Jew or the Gentill doeth (I mean) after they have receaved the grace of God; for then we confesse that they have (yet not of themselves) a will and studie to walk in godlines: but the question is, Whether this will and studie, which now by grace they have receaved, was anie cause of their Election; the
To the 2. contrarie whereof we have before proved. We do not imagine the faithfull membres of Christes bodie to be stockes or stones insensible, without will or studie of godlines; but we affirme that it is God that worketh in us the good will and the good thought, for of ourselves we are not sufficient to think one
To the 3. good thought. We further affirme, that except with all humilitie the free grace offered with thankes giving be receaved, that they serve nothing to the salvation of the contemners.
Exec. 11. But therewith we adde, that it is God onely who taketh away the stonie and stubborne heart, and giveth to us a fleshie heart;
To the 4. in which He by the power of his Holie Spirit writeth his law, maketh us to walk in his wayes, draweth us to his Sonne Christ Jesus, giveth us into his protection: I mean, as faith assureth us in our conscience, and so we acknowledge God alone by Christ Jesus his Sonne to be the beginning, the middes, and
To the 5. the end of our sanctification, godlie life, and salvation. I, for my part, do yet againe praise God that his veritie is of that strength, that somtymes it will compell the verie ennemies to bear testimonie to it. And I pray God to retein you in that mynd, that unfeanedly you may beleve and confess, that what vertues or good motions that ever be in you, be the onely effects or fruites, as ye call them, of your reconciliation, and neither cause of your Election nor yet of your Justification.

That Jerusalem and the Scribes refused grace, and therefor justly were condemned, we consent with you; but that ever it

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was the eternall counsell and will of God to give them life everlasting, that we constantly deny. Our reasons we have before alledged, and after will have occasion to repeate some againe. And therefor we procede. Thus ye write:

THE ADVERSARIE.

THE 23D SECTION.

Here, with great vehemencie, ye alledge these wordes of Paule, "Who hath bene able to resist his will?" of which saying ye inferre that God, without any cause knowen to us, hath reprobated and damned many, against which will no man can resist. These wordes did Paule write, because he did foresee, that of his former sainges some develish disposed persons wold take occasion to burden God with unrighteousnes, as ye do, making him the author of evil: for ye say, that God hath a secret will whereby he willeth the most parte of the world to be condemned; which will, because it can not be resisted, therefor of mere necessity, by the immutable decree of God, so many do perish. Further, ye this affirming God to be the cause of damnation, onely because it so hath pleased him, ye cause many other to burst owt and say, "Sithe his will and pleasure no man is able to resist, let him lay it on himself, and not to us, if any sinne be committed." And surely for my parte, were it not I abhorre your horrible doctrine, wherwith ye cruelly affirme God's ordinance to be the cause of damnation, I wold not medle further in this mater, but with reverence behold the workes of God: forasmuch as I see, thankes be to God, no work of God wherin his mercie doeth not clerely shyne. But if your saying were true, then were his workes full of crueltie, miserie, damnation and destruction. Now, as touching this saying, "Who is able to resist his will?" we must learne what is God's will. If you ask the Lord, he will answer you, "It is not my will that any man sinne, neither is it my will that the sinner die, but rather that he amend and live; but if he will not amend, but continew in sinne, him will I punishe, and him may I also punishe, having power above all men, as the potter over the clay." Wherefor, when any man suffereth justly for his trespasse, he oght not to accuse God, and say, "Who can resist his will?" as God wold absolutely the destruction of his creatures, as ye teach. God will all men to repent and amend; and also that they who will not repent and amend be punished. This His will is just and full of mercie, against which will is no man able to resist; for either must they repent and amend, or els they must suffer. As the potter wold gladly make of his clay a good vessell, but if it will not frame he breaketh it and casteth it away; and as the King wold all his subjects to be obedient unto his lawes, yet the unworthiest slave in his dominion hath power to break the Kinges lawes; notwithstanding, when he suffereth for his offence, the Kinges will is fulfilled: even so, though God both willeth and commandeth us to observe his law, yet

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8.

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have we power to offend against the former parte of his will, otherwise we should all observe the will of God and be saved, and so should there be no reprobate; but when for our disobedience we be punished, the will of God is fulfilled; which will is both good and just, and therefor ought no man to accuse it and say, "Who is able to resist his will?" no more then clay, when it framed not to be a good vessell, doeth accuse the potter of breaking it.

ANSWER.

To the 1. Ye be not able to prove, that in any vehemencie we alledge those wordes of the Apostle in other sentence then he wrote them; for, all praise and glorie be unto God the mercifull giver,

To the 2. we have not so litle profited in the schoole of Christ Jesus, that we wold wrest the wordes of the Holie Ghost to a contrarie sense. We are not ignorant that the Apostle pronounceth these wordes in the person of carnall men, who, hearing that God hath mercie upon those that he will, and that also he maketh hard-hearted such as he will, do storm and furiously crye, "Wherefor then doeth he complain? Who is able to resist

To the 3. his will?" These wordes, I say, do we not urge to prove our doctrine; for where we affirme, that the onely will of God is the perfect reule of all thinges which be done, and are to be done, in heaven and in earth, we build our doctrine upon evident testimonies of the Scriptures, and upon the chief principalles of our religion and faith. David and Isaiah do both aggree, that our God, who dwelleth in heaven, doeth whatsoever he will in heaven and in earthe; that he formeth light, and doeth creat darknes, that is, giveth aswel prosperitie as adversitie. Daniel affirmeth, that the supreme God distributeth kingdomes as best seemeth to his wisdom; and Salomon doeth witnes, that against the Lord there is no counsell can prevaile. The necessarie principalles of our faith do teach us, that as in God there falleth no ignorance, so in him there is no impotencie. He doeth not, as it were in suspense and doubt, behold the event and chance of things, ronning after to seke remedie; but that in wisdom hath he disposed all thinges; willing nothing which he may not and doeth not bring to passe, in time, accord-

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ing to his eternall purpose; and working nothing which is not most just, howbeit the causes thereof be hidde frome us. Of these and many mo Scriptures and necessarie principalles of our faith do we grounde our doctrine, and not upon that one place, spoken in the rebuke of the stubborn and rebellious disputers with God. Ye burden us, that we accuse and make God to be the author of evill and the cause of damnation · that we cause many brest owt and say, "Since his will and pleasure no man is able to resist, let him lay it on himself, and not to us, if any sinne be committed." And last ye affirme, that if our sainges be true, that then are God's works full of crueltie, miserie, damnation, and destruction. And so of two thinges ye accuse us, and the thirde ye affirme inevitably to folow of our doctrine, if it be true. To the 2. To the 3. To the 4.

Hereafter, I will not greatlie labor to confute thy arguments; which is a thing most easie even to any godlie man, howbeit he had never sene arte nor studied the same. But seing that thow and thy most pestilent Sect be not content maliciously to sclander those that in such a case be most innocent, but that also with most impudent mouthes ye vomite furth your horrible blasphemies against God's Majestie, I will most earnestlie and most unfeanedlie require of all Reulers, Princes, Magistrates, and Governors, who in the fear of God do reule above their subjects, that as they will answer in the presence of the Lord Jesus for the administration of justice committed to their charge, that indifferently they judge betwixt you and us; to witt, that if we can evidently be convicted of those crymes which ye most maliciously and most unjustly lay to our charge, that then judgement without mercie be executed against us. But, and if ye fail in your probation, and also if ye can not prove crueltie to be in God's workes, supposing that our doctrin remaine (as that it is) trew and stable, that then such order may be taken for repressing of your venemous tongues, that neither ye be permitted thus openly to blaspheme God's Majestie, neither thus maliciously to sclander innocentes, and Answer.

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to offend the eares of all godlie hearers. And to the end that men shall not think that, being at this time accused, we beginne to devise new defenses or excuses of ourselves, I will faithfully and simply bring furth of the works (as somewhat I have done before) of that singular instrument of Christ Jesus in the glorie of his Gospell, John Calvin, such sentences as shall make plaine to all men what our opinion is of God, of the fall of man, of the wonderous work of our redemption, and of the most just rejection and damnation of the reprobat.

Liber de Æterna Dei Prædestinatione.

"Thus (saieth he)[1] dependeth the perdition of the reprobate upon the Predestination of God, that the cause and the mater is altogither found in them. The first man fell, because the Eternall judged it expedient. Why he judged it we know not, yet certain it is that he so judged it, not but that he saw the glory of his name thereby to be illustrate. When that thow doest heare the mention of God's glorie, there also remembre thow justice to be; for of necessitie it is, that just must that be which deserveth praise. Man therefore falleth (God's providence so ordeining); but yet he falleth by his own fault. For God of short time before had pronounced, that all which he had made were very good. From whence then came such wickednes to man, that he so traiterously declyned from his God? Lest that it might have bene through that, that it proceded frome the creation, God approved by his own commendation whatsoever he had made. Therefor did man corrupt by his own malice that pure and clean nature which from God he had receaved; and by his fall he drew his whole posteritie to perdition. Therefor let us rather behold the evident cause of damnation in the corrupt nature of mankind, then that we shall pretend to searche it, being hid, and utterly incomprehensible, in the Predestination of God. Neither yet let us be ashamed so far to subject the capacitie of our understanding to the incomprehensible wisdom of God, that in manie of his mysteries we acknowledge and confesse ourselves to be igno-

[1] "De Æterna Dei Prædestinatione," &c. Genevæ, 1552, 12mo.

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rant. For learned and blessed is the ignorante of those thinges, which to understand and know is neither lawfull, neither yet possible in this life. The apperance of knowledge in such thinges is a kynd of madnes."

These be the wordes of this most godlie writer; from whose judgement none of us doeth dissent in this mater. For from him we must confesse, except that we would in concealing the trueth declare ourselves to be unthankfull, that we all have receaved comfort, light, and erudition, as from God's good instrument. Who yet thus further procedeth:

"There be three thinges (saieth he[1]) in this mater to be considered: First, That the eternall Predestination of God, by the which he had decreed what should become of all mankynd, (yea, and of every man) even before that Adam fell, was sure and appointed: Secondly, That Adame for his defection was justly adjudged to death: and last, That in the personne of him that then was lost, was damned his whole posteritie. And yet, nevertheles, God did freely choose of the same such as upon whom it pleased him to bestow the honor of adoption." And yet after, in the same place, he saieth, "When we speak of Predestination, I have constantly taught, and this day do teach, that frome thence we oght to begin, that justly are all reprobat left in death who were dead and damned in Adame; that justly they perishe who by nature are the sonnes of wrath. And therefor, that none hath cause to complein of God's rigorous severitie, seing that all do bear the cause of damnation within themselves. For if we shall come to the first man, we shall find that willingly he fell; and so by his one faule[2] he broght perdition to all his posteritie. And albeit that Adam fell not, but that God both knew and ordeined the same, yet serveth that nothing, nether to extenuat and excuse his crime, nether yet to wrap God in societie of the same; for alwaies must we looke to this, that he spoiled himself of the

[1] "De Æterna Dei Prædestinatione," &c., p. 114.

[2] "His one faule," in edit. 1591, "his own fall."

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righteousnes which he receaved from God; that willingly he made himselfe servant to sinne and to Sathan; that without compulsion he cast himself headlong in to destruction and death. Yet resteth one excuse, to witt, that he could not avoid nor flie that which was decreed by God. But his voluntarie transgression is sufficient to his condemnation; nether yet is the secrete counselle of God the proper and natural cause of sinne, but the free and plaine will of man. And therefor, seeing that man findeth in himself the cause of his miserie, what shall it profitt him to seke it in the heaven? And after, albeit that men, by long compassing about, purpose to delude themselves, yet can they never make themselves so brutishe and dull, but that they shall fele the sense of sinne graven in their heartes. Therefore in vaine is it that ungodlines goeth about to absolve man, whom his own conscience damneth. In so far as God, willing and knowing, permitted man to fall, the cause may be secrete and hid, but unjust it can not be." And yet he further writeth:[1]

"This (saieth he) is to be holden without all controversie, that sinne was ever hatefull to God; for most rightly doth this commendation, wherewith of David he is commended, aggree to him: 'That he is a God that wold not iniquitie,' but rather in ordeining the fall of man, his end and purpose was good and most right, frome the which the name of sinne abhorreth. Howbeit, I say that so he hath ordeined the fall of man, that I utterly denie him to be the author of sinne." Let the indifferent reader judge with equitie, if justly we be accused of that blasphemie which so openlie we abhorre. But yet in the same book, he bringeth furth a testimonie of Augustine, who thus writeth: "These be the great workes of God (saieth Augustine) broght to passe in all his willes: and so wisely broght to passe, that whill the nature of Angell and man had sinned, that is, had done not that which he, that is God, wold, but that which the self (meaning the creature) wold;

The purpose of God in mannes fall

Enchir. ad Lauren., cap. 1.

[1] "De Æterna Dei Prædestinatione," &c., p. 116.

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yet, nottheless, by the same will of the creature by the which that was done which the Creator wold not, did he fulfill that which he wold, He, being infinitely good, using well those thinges that were evil, to the damnation of them whom he justly had appointed to paine, and to the salvation of those whom mercifully he had Predestinate to grace. In so far as to them perteined, they did the thing which God wold not; but as apperteining to God's omnipotencie, they might by no meanes have done that, for even in that that they did against the will of God, the will of God was done in them: and therefor great are the workes of the Lord (broght to passe in all his willes), that, by a wonderous and unspeakable maner, that thing should not be done without his will, that yet is done against his will; for it should not be done if he did not suffer it. And of a truth, he suffered it not unwillingly, but willingly." And a litil before, Saint Augustin saieth, "It is not to be doubted but that God doeth well, permitting those thinges to be done which are evil; for he suffered not this but in his just judgement. Albeit therefor that these thinges which be evill, in so far as they are evill, are not good; yet, nevertheles, it is good that not onely good thinges but also that evill thinges be; for if that this were not good that evill thinges should be, by no means should they be permitted to be by the Omnipotent Good, to whom, no doubt, it is alike easie, not to suffer the thing which he will not to be, as to do that thing which he will. Except we beleve this, the beginning of our faith is indangered, by the which we professe ourselves to beleve in God the Father Almightie," &c.

And in the end, to answer to these calumnies which ye have taken furth of Pighius, that papist, John Calvin concludeth, "If ever I had said that it came to passe by the instruction or motion of the Spirit of God, that the first man did alienate himself frome God, and not that rather I have in all places defended, that man was pricked thereto by instigation of the Devill, and by the motion of his own heart, then meritably might Pighius and his complices have railed against me. But

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seing that I removing from God the very cause of the action, do also remove from him all crime, so that man onely is subject aswell to the crime as to the punishment: wickedly and maliciously is this laid to my charge, that I should say that mannes defection and fall is one of God's workes."

But yet lest that one thing should appere to lacke of our full doctrine, I will recite his wordes which he writeth against the Libertines, in the 14. chapter of that worke:

"We do not deny (saieth he) but that all thinges are done by the will of God, insomuch, that when we declare wherefor he is called Omnipotent, we geve to him an effectuall power in all his creatures; and we teach, that as once he created the universall world, so also that he governeth the same; and that his hand is alwaies at the work, that he might kepe all thinges in their estate, and dispose them after his will. And to the end that I may expresse the same more easely, I say, that God is to be considered threo maner of waies to work in the administration of his creatures. First, There is an universall operation, by the which he directeth all creatures according to the condition and proprietie which he gave to everie one when he formed them; and this government is nothing els but that which we call the order of Nature: for albeit the unfaithfull know nothing in the disposition of the world but that which they see with their eies, and therefor they make Nature as she were a goddesse, to have impire and dominion over all; yet is this praise to be given to the will of God, that it onely doeth moderat and govern all things. Wherefor when we see the sun, the moon, and the sterres fulfill their course, let us understand that they obey God, that they execute his commandement; yea, and that they are guided by the hand of God. And also when we see the course of earthlie thinges, all thinges are to be ascribed to God. The creatures are to be estemed but as instruments in his hand, which he applieth to the work even as pleaseth him. The Scripture doeth often make mention of this universall pro-

Three maner wayes doeth God work in his creatures.

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videnoe, that we may learn in all his workes to give glorie unto God. But chiefly in us doeth God commend this his power, that we shall know it in ourselves, to the end that we may be purged of arrogancie, which sodanly useth to arise in us, how soon we forgett ourselves to be in his handes. Hereunto apperteineth that which Paul said to those of Athenes, 'It is He in whom we live, are moved, and have our being.' By the which he wold admonish us, that except God uphold us by his hand, that unable it is for us to stand the least moment of time; for even as the soule dispersing her strengthe throughe the whole bodie moveth the membres, so are we quickened of God, from whome onely we obtein whatsoever strength or power we have. But this universall operation of God impedeth not, but that every creature in heaven and in earth retein their own nature and qualitie, and also do folow their own inclination.

"The second maner by the which God worketh in his crea- 2.
tures is, That he appointeth them, in obedience of his goodnes, justice, and judgement; sometymes to help his servants, sometymes to punishe the wicked, and sometymes to examin the pacience of his servantes, or to correct and chasten them with a fatherly affection: as when he will give us aboundance of frutes, he giveth rain in his time; he sendeth heat by the sun, and bright and clear daies; as also, he useth all other naturall meanes as instruments of his liberalitie. But when he pulleth back his hand, the heaven is made like brasse, the earth is yron; and so it is he that sendeth thonder, frost, haile; and also it is he that is the cause of sterilitie and barennes. Therefor, whatsoever the Ethnickes and ignorant did attribute to Fortune, we assigne to the providence of God: not onely to that universall operation of the which we have before spoken, but to his especiall ordinance, by the which He governeth all, as he knoweth it to be most expedient and profitable. And this he teacheth, when by his Prophetes he saith, 'That he created darknes and light, that he sendeth death and life, that neither

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good nor evill can chance but from his hand.' Insomuch, that he saieth, that he doeth govern and direct the lottes. Yea, if that any man by chance, and not of set purpose be slain, he avoweth himself to be the cause of his death, and that so he had appointed; that we shall judge nothing to come of Fortune, but that all cometh by the determination of his counsell. And further, it displeaseth him when we esteme any thing to procede from any other, so that we do not behold him, and know him not onely the principall cause of all thinges, but also as the author appointing all thinges to the one part or the other by his counsell.

"Thus let us then conclude, that prosperitie and adversitie, rayn, wyndes, haile, frost, faire wether, aboundance, hunger, warre, or peace, to be the workes of God; and that the creatures, which be the inferior causes, are onely instrumentes which he hath in readines to execute his will; which he so useth at his pleasure, that he leadeth and moveth them to bring to passe whatsoever he hath appointed. Moreover, it is to be noted, that not onlie He thus useth his insensible creatures, that by them he worketh his will, but also men themselves, yea, and also devilles, insomuch that Sathan and wicked men are executers of God's will: as he used the Egyptians to punishe his people, and a litle after, he raised up the Assyrians and other such to revenge the sinnes of his people. We see that he used the Devil in tormenting Saul, and in deceaving Achab: which thinges when the Libertines do heare, rashely and without judgement, beholding no further, they conclude, That now the creatures do no more work; and so horribly do they confound all things, neither do they onelie mingle and mixt the heavens with the earth, but also they joyn God with the Devil. And that chanceth unto them, because they do not observe two most necessarie exceptions. The former is, That Sathan and the wicked are not so the instrumentes of God, but that they also do theire own partes. Neither must we imagin that God so worketh by wicked men, as by a stock or a stone, but as by a

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creature participant of reason, &c. When we say, then, that God worketh by creatures, this impedeth not but that the wicked work also upon theire parte, which thing the Scripture most evidently declareth; for as it pronounceth that God will whissill and blow as it were the trumpet, to call and bring furth to battell the unfaithfull, so ceaseth it not to make mention of their own counsell, and ascribeth to them both a will and a work, which they did execute under the decree of God.

"The other exception of the which these unhappie Libertines take no head is, That there is a greate difference betwixt the work of God and the work of the wicked, when that God useth him insteade of an instrument. The wicked man is provoked to iniquitie either by avarice, ambition, envie, or crueltie, neither yet looketh he to any other end or purpose; and therefor the worke taketh the qualitie from the roote from the which it springeth, that is, frome the wicked affection of the mynd, and the mischevous end which he looketh unto, and therfor justly is it judged evill. But God altogither hath a contrarie respect, to witt, that he may exercise his justice to the conservation of the good, to use his favour and gentilnes towardes the faithfull, and that he may punish such as have deserved. Consider how we must make difference betwixt God and man: that upon the one parte we shall beholde his justice, his goodnes, and his judgements; and upon the other part, we shall consider in the self same work the malice and envie of the Devill and of the wicked. Let us take a bright and clear glasse in the which we may behold these thinges. When the message of the losse of all his goodes came to Job, the sodaine death of his sonnes, and so manie calamities which all at once fell upon him, he doeth acknowledge that he was visited by God, saying, 'The Lord gave all these thinges, and it is he that hath taken them away;' and no doubt so it was. But in the mean time, do we not know that the Devil procured all these thinges? And did not he understand, by narration of his servants that escaped, that the Chaldeis had driven away his bestiall and flockes?

An example taken by Job.

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Did he commend those brigandes and spoilers? or oght we to excuse the Devill? becaus that all these calamities proceded from God. Not so, for bothe we and he do and did understand that there was a great difference betwixt their purposes. And therefor he (yet damning the evill) said, 'The name of the Lord be blessed.' The same may we say of David; but at this tyme it sufficeth that God so worketh by his creatures, and so doeth use them to his providence, that the instrument by the which he worketh ceaseth not to be evill. And albeit that he convert the malice of the Devill and of wicked men to good, yet they therefor are neither excusable, neither yet clean from sinne: and their workes are wicked, and to be damned; for all workes take their qualitie of the purpose and the will of the author. Whosoever maketh no distinction betwixt these thinges, maketh an horrible confusion. And such be the Libertines, who, as before is said, do not onely joyn the Devill in societie with God, but also do transforme him into God, judgeing his workes worthie of praise, under this coulor, that he doeth nothing but that which is appointed by God. But contrariewise we oght to observe, that the creatures do work their own workes in this earthe; which workes, according as they were directed to this or that end, so are they to be judged either good or evill: and yet God governeth and doeth moderat all things, and guideth them also to a right end. He turneth the evill into good, or at least, God working by the goodnes of his nature, draweth as it were by violence some good furth of that which in the self is evill. So doeth he use the Devill, that he doeth not mixe himself with him; neither to be in felowshipe with him; neither yet with his wicked fact; neither that his justice shal put away the nature of the Devil. For as the sun sending furth his beames and heat to the carion, and so ingendreth in it some corruption, draweth to itself neither corruption, neither yet any filthines; neither yet doeth the sun by his puretie and brightnes so purge the carion, but that it remaineth stincking and corrupt: so doeth God so work by

A similitude of the sun.

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the wicked, that the justice which is in him doeth not justifie them; neither yet is he defyled by their wickedness and corruption.

"The third kinde of God's operation consisteth in the governance of the faithful, in whom he liveth and reigneth by his Spirit. In so far as we are corrupt by original sinne, we be lyke to the drie and barren grounde, which produceth no good frute. For our judgement is corrupt, our will rebellious, ever readie to evill; and finally, our whole nature is nothing elles but a lompe of sinne. And therefor, not onely can we not applie ourselves to any good action, but we are not able nor sufficient to conceave one good thoght (as Paul doeth witnes), but if we be able to any thing, of necessitie that must procede from God. It is He therefore that worketh in us both to will and to performe; he doeth illuminate us, and lead us to the knowledge of himself; he draweth us to himself, and by softening our hearts, he formeth new heartes in us. Further, it is He who moveth in us a desire of praying; he giveth power and strength to resist all the tentations of Sathan, and maketh that we do walk in his commandements. But yet we must consider, that of nature we have both will and election; but because they are both depraved by sinne, the Lord reformeth them, and of evill maketh them good. That we therefor be apt to discerne that we have a will, that we do this or that, this is a naturall gift; but that we can choose, desyre, or do nothing but that which is evil, that cometh of the corruption of sinne. That we thirst to do good, that we have some power to execute the same, this procedeth from the supernatural grace, by the which we are regenerat, and newly born to a better and more godlie life. Behold then, what God worketh in his children; first, putting away their perverse nature, he conducteth and guydeth them by his Holie Spirit in obedience of his will. But these dronken or rather furious Libertines, crying, That all things are wroght by God, do make him author of evil. And further, even as the nature of the evill were changed, when it is cloked under the

3.

2 Cor. 3. Philip. 2.

Except we be regenerat by supernaturall grace, we can neither think well, nor do any thing that good is.

The Libertines.

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coverture of God's name, they affirme it to be good; in the which they do greater injurie and contumelie unto God, then that they should transfer his power and justice to another. For seing there is nothing more proper unto God then is his goodnes, it behoveth, first, that he should utterly denie himself before that he can work evill, which thing these blynd Libertines attribute unto him. And, assuredly, the God of these men is an idole, which oght to be more execrable then all the idoles of the Gentiles." And so furth to the end of that chapter, he proveth, that God committeth no sinne in none of the wicked of the earth, &c.

Thus far have I recited the mynd and most part of the wordes of that godlie writer,[1] written by him now twelve yeres ago, against the Libertines; by the which the indifferent Reader may judge, whether that justly you accuse him and us, that we make God author of sinne. In the name of God, and of his deare Son Christ Jesus (whose glorie ye studie utterly to suppresse), I require, as before, of all those that be placed in auctoritie by his worde, whose handes he hath armed with the sword of justice, that earnestly, as they will answer before his fearefull throne of judgement, they take triall in this mater, that if we be found either in life, either yet in doctrine, as we be accused, that God may be glorified in our just punishments; but if we can not be convicted (as we fear neither triall nor

An earnest request that the Magistrate wolde trie the accusation of the Adversarie.

[1] It may be mentioned, that Calvin's treatise, from which Knox gives these quotations, was written in French, and published under this title: "Contre la Secte Phantastique et Furieuse de Libertins. Qui se nomment spirituelz. A Geneve, par Iehan Girard, 1545," small 8vo, pp. 242. His similar treatise against the Anabaptists, "Brieve Instruction," &c., was printed at Geneva in 1544. Both works were translated into Latin, by Nicolaus Gallasius, (or De Gallars,) and published together at Strasburgh: "Brevis Instructio, &c. Item, Adversus Fanaticam et Furiosam Sectam Libertinorum, qui se Spirituales vocant. Argentorati, per VVendelinum Richelium. Anno M.D.XLVI," small 8vo. In the collection of Calvin's "Opuscula," published in 1563, these Latin translations are included; and to the second treatise is subjoined an Epistle or Address, "Joannes Calvinus seruus Iesu Christi, Omnibus piis qui degunt Rotomagi (Rouen)." (Pp. 309–345). It is dated Genevæ, XX. August. M D.XLVII.

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judgement), that then our accusers may acknowledge their offence.

The second thing which is laid to our charge is, That we cause many other to brest out and say, "Sithe his will and pleasure no man is able to resist, let him lay it on himself, and not upon us, if any sinne be committed." The Second Accusation.

If the blasphemies of the ungodlie should be laid to our charge, becaus that we teach a doctrin most true, and most comfortable to the children of God, then can not the Apostle Saint Paul be excused. For the same blasphemies were vomited first against him, and the doctrine which he taught: Some crying, Let us do evill, that good may come of it; others, Let us abyde in sinne, that grace may abound; and some, furiously roring (as ye do), did dispitefully cry, Wherefor doeth he complean? who can resist his will? But was the doctrine therefor damnable? or, was the Apostle criminal for teaching the same? I suppose ye will be more favourable in this cause, than so rashly to condemne him whom God hath absolved. If then our doctrine can not be impugned by the plaine Scriptures of God, why should we sustein the blame of other mennes blasphemies? Howbeit, in verie dede, the blasphemies of none come so plainely to our eares as yours do. For the verey Papistes, and the insolent of the world, are yet ashamed so impudentlie to lie upon us; who, althogh they will not follow the puretie of the doctrine taught by us, yet either are they put to silence by the power of the Holie Spirit, or els they invent some colourable lies, and do abstein from such open blasphemies as you cast out against God and us. Answer to the Second Accusation. What horrible blasphemies were also vomited against S. Paules doctrine. How impudent blasphemers the Adversaries be.

"We lay to your charge (say you) none other thing then ye yourselves do confesse; for ye affirme, that God worketh all things according to his will and pleasure." The Reply of the Adversarie.

We answer, that maliciously and divelishly ye wrest our wordes contrarie to our mynd. For alwayes we make a most plaine difference betwixt the will of God, and the will of the wicked; and betwixt the purpose, counsell, and end of God, Answer to the Replie of the Adversarie.

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and betwixt the purpose and end of man; as in all this whole processe before intreated, the indifferent Reader may well consider.

If ye continue in your blyndnes, and furiously cry: "But ye affirme, that without his will and against it nothing is done, therefor that men think, that even when they sinne, they obey God's will." I answer by the wordes of the same writer whom before I have alledged: "Touching the workes which we committ, the will of God is to be considered, as he himself hath declared it; for in vaine hath he not given his law, by the which he hath discerned[1] good from evill." As for example, when he commandeth no man to be hurt, no man to be injured, but that equitie and justice be indifferently kept to all; that no man steal, defraude his brother; that none committ adulterie, fornication, or filthynes, but that everie man keep his own vessell in sanctification and honor. Here is the will of God evident and plaine; what further pleaseth him in these cases oght no man to inquire. For we know, that if we do these and other thinges that he commanded, and do abstein from all things that be forbidden, that then we obey the will of God. And if we do not that, we can not be acceptable to him. If that any man shall steall, or committ adulterie, and shall say that he hath done nothing against the will of God, he lieth most impudently; for in so far as he hath transgressed the commandements of God, by the which he was taught what was God's will, he hath done against his will. Let all men now judge, if that we give occasion to man to flatter himself in sinne, and to think that when they committe iniquitie against the expresse commandement of God, that then they obey his holie will.

Above that which we are commanded by God we ought not to enquyre.

If any demand, whether that any thing can be done against God's will, that is, if God may not, if he wold, stay and impede the sinne of man. Before, I have answered by the mouth of Augustine, and now again by John Calvine, That no-

[1] "Discerned," distinguished.

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thing is, nor can be done, which he may not impede if so it please his wisdom; yet, utterlye we must eschew, that we inquire not of his Providence, which is hid frome us, when that the question is of our duetie. His word declareth unto us what he approveth, and what he condemneth; with that we oght to stand content, and by the same oght we to reule our lives, leaving the secretes to God, as by Moises we are taught.

When the question is of our duetie, no man may be inquisitive of God's secret providence.

To make the matter more plaine; the case supposed, that I be tempted with concupiscence, and lust another man's wife, in the which I long strive, and in the end Sathan objecteth to me this cogitation, Follow thy purpose, for by that meanes thow mayest perchance be further humbled, and after thow mayest taste more aboundantly the mercie and the grace of God. Should I therefor louse the bridle to my wicked affections? should I declyn from the plain precept, and enter into the secrete providence of God? God forbid! for that, besides the violating or breaking of his commandement, were horrible temptation of his godlie Majestie, and so in one fact were committed double impietie. The sinnes, I know, of God's dearest children are grevous and many; and wonderous is the providence of God working in his saintes, but never, or seldom it is, that such perilouse cogitations prevale against them; for the Spirit of God so reuleth in them, that commonly this sentence of Salomon is before their eies: "Such as unreverently search out God's Majestie, shalbe oppressed by the glorie of the same." And so must it needes come to passe, as John Calvin affirmeth, That the pryde of such must be punished, and that with an horrible punishement. The pryde of those, I say, shalbe punished, who, not content with the will of God reveled, (to the which they will not be obedient,) delite to mounte and flie above the skyes, there to seke the secrete will of God.

With what faces can ye now lay to our charges, that we give occasion to men to flatter themselves in sinne, or yet to think that in committing iniquitie they obey God's will? Ye alledge, perchance, that the common people read not our writings, and

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therefor they can not understand our judgement in this case. I answer, the more impudent and blasphemous are you, who so defame us in the eares of the unlearned multitude, that to them ye make both us and our doctrine odious, before that ever it be known or examined.

But yet, for further discharge of ourselves against your most unjust accusations, and for the better instruction of the simple, I will adduce another testimonie from the writing of the same faithfull servant of Christ Jesus, John Calvin, and so put end to this your second calumnie. In his Commentarie upon the Actes of the Apostle, the second chapter, writing upon these wordes of Peter, affirming, "That by the determinat counsell and prescience of God was Jesus betraied and crucified by the handes of wicked men." "Because (saieth he) Peter appereth to mean, that wicked men obeyed God; whereof of two absurdities, one must needes folow, to wit, that either God is the author of evill, or that men, committing all kynd of iniquitie, do not sinne, becaus they seeme to obey God. I answer, that wicked men do not obey God, howsoever it be that they put in execution those things which God hath with himself appointed; for obedience procedeth from a voluntary affection, which earnestly thristeth to please God: but we know that the wicked have a far other purpose. Moreover, no man obeieth God but such as hath his will knowen. Obedience then dependeth upon the knowledge of God's will: and so, as the will of God is reveled in his law, so likewise it is evident, that whosoever transgresseth against his will reveled, hath his conscience to witness against him, that neither he doeth the will of God, neither yet that he obeyeth him." To the second he sayeth, "I constantly denie that God is author of Evill, for in this word 'evill' there is the notation and proprietie of a wicked affection, (which never falleth, nor can fall in God.) The evill work oght to be judged by the purpose and end to the which everie man tendeth in his action. When men committ theft or murther, therefor they sinne, because they are theves

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and murtherers. In the theft and murther there is wicked counsell, which never tendeth to please God, but to saciate their inordinate appetites. But God, who useth their malice, is to be placed in glorie above them, for he looketh to another end; for the one he wil punishe, and the patience of the other he will exercise: and so he never declineth, nor boweth from his own nature, that is, from a most perfect righteousnes. So that Christ was betrayed and crucified by the hands of the wicked, it was done by the ordinance of God. But the treason and the slaughter, which by themselves were most odious and wicked, ought not to be judged nor accompted the work of God."

Let men, whose myndes the Devil hath not inflamed in hatred and malice against God, against his simple trueth, and against the professors of the same, now judge whether that we affirme God to be author of sinne, or if we give any just occasion that man should glorie in wickednes, either yet that they shall burden God with the same. And I appele to thy own conscience (thow unthankfull unto men, and open traitor to the veritie which once thow professed,) whether that thow oftener then once hast heard with thine eares, and that in open audience of many; That if any should take boldnes to sinne in hope of mercie, that the cuppe which they should drink should be most bitter.

To the 4. The Affirmation of Anabaptistes.

Now to that which ye affirme, and we most constantly denie: You affirme, "That if our sayinges be true, that then are the workes of God full of crueltie, miserie, damnation, and destruction."

Answer.

As before I have noted somwhat which maliciously ye sclander us, so will I plainely and simply, in short and several Propositions, set furth the summe[1] of that doctrine which we teach and professe, and that you so blasphemously oppugne, to the end, that Reulers and godlie Magistrates, and you yourselves also, may clerely see what we beleve and affirm; which being

[1] In the original, "some."

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considered and compared with God's Scriptures, if your affirmation be found true, then refuse we not punishement worthie for blasphemers. But if ye, of malice against God's trueth, spewing furth the corruption of your stinking stomockes, infected with pryde and with contempt of grace, have affirmed that which ye be not able to prove, our earnest request is, as before, that your vennom may be repressed betymes.

Theodore Beza's Propositions against Castallio.

These Propositions following have I translated furth of the work written by that learned and godlie man, Theodorus Beza,[1] against the calumnies of your capteyn, Castalio.

1. The first Proposition: God effectually worketh and bringeth to passe all thinges, according to the counsell of his own will.

2. This counsell doeth God execute in certen moments of tyme; nevertheles the counsell itself is eternall, and passeth before all thinges, not onely in tyme (as it that is before all tyme), but also in ordre. For otherwise the will of God should not be the principall and first rule of God's counsell, but rather the qualities of things foresene and foreknowen, and moving God to take this counsell, or that should prescribe a reule to the will of God.

3. This counsell may not be separated from the will of God, onely of necessitie we spoile God of his Godhead.

4. This counsell is not put in moderation and in direction of chance or fortune, but it hath an effectuall and working strength in all thinges, as Paul speaketh.

5. This strength and efficacie is attributed to God working, but it is not said to be of God; therefore by this worde efficacie, or strength, is not declared any nature and power given by God the Creator to the things that be created, that they should do this or that, but thereby is understand the power of God, which he hath in himself to do all thinges.

[1] Beza's Propositions against Castalio occur in his treatise entitled, "Ad Sebastiani Castellionis calumnias, quibus unicum Salutis nostræ fundamentum, id est Æternam Dei Predestinationem, evertere nititur, Responsio." (Theod. Bezæ Volumen Primum Tractationum Theologicorum, p. 371. Editio Secunda, Genevæ, 1582, 3 vol. in 1, folio.)

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6. This universall particle, 'all,' in the wordes of Paul, can by no maner of exception be restreined, but that God in that part shall be judged ydle, as Epicurus did falsly affirme. And if we shall say that any thing is done which God may not impede, then shall he be spoiled of his infinit power.

7. So that the conclusion is, sithence that God himselfe, even as it hath pleased him to determyn all thinges to come from eternitie, even so he worketh by his own power, that the same thinges come to passe in their tyme as he willeth.

8. Of these things notwithstanding none of those blasphemies doth follow, wherewith we be burdened; to wit, that God is the author of sinne; either that he deliteth or willeth iniquitie; either that Sathan or men doing wickedly do obey God; either in so far as they do evil, that they do the thing that God will, and therefor are blameless. Let such blasphemies be far not onely from our mouthes, but also from our cogitations and thoghtes.

9. That none of these blasphemies necessarely may be concluded of our doctryn may thus be proved.

10. God putteth in execution the counselles of his will, by second causes and mid instruments, not as bound unto them, as the Stoikes did affirme, but frely and potently making, moving, and directing them, as it pleaseth his wisdom.

11. Of those instruments there are two principall kindes. The one hath life and moving, the other be without life, which rather be moved by the force of others then move themselves. There be two sortes of those that have life, the one be indued with reason and judgement, the other be without reason, and are onely caried by the blynd force of nature.

12. Those that be without life, and those also that have life, but lack reason, can neither be said to do well nor evill; but those that use them as instruments may be said either to do well or evill.

13. Those that have life endued with reason, are either angelles or men. The angelles be of two sortes, some good,

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some bad; but as for men, all by nature are evill: but by grace they are so seperated, that some are utterly evil, some partly good, to witt, in so far as the Spirit of God hath sanctified them.

14. Such as in any action are moved by their own inward motion, justly may be said to work, and therefor in that kynd of instrumentes falleth the difference of good and of evill workes; neither yet properly, in that respect, may they be called instruments, but the causes efficient.

15. An evill action I call that which hath not the reveled will of God for the assurance and end; and by the contrarie, the work is good when the worker looketh to obey God's expresse commandement.

16. These same, althogh they be causes, in so far as they work by their own proper motion, yet are they in another respect called instruments, in so far as they are moved by another. As when the hangman, by the commandement of the magistrate, killeth a man; or when, by instigation of the Devil, men hurt others; or when, at the commandement of any, we do either good or evill to any man.

17. In this kynd of actions, it is evident, that one work is attributed to two; to the one, as to him that worketh by an instrument, and to the other, as to the worker by motion or commandement; such workers are instruments, not simply as the hammer or axe is in the hand of the smithe or hewer, but they are such instruments as also move by their own inward motion.

18. And for this double respect, a double worke appereth sometymes to be done; insomuch that the one may be laudable and the other wicked. As if the Magistrate shall committ an offender worthie of death to the executor of justice, this worke is praise-worthie of all good men. But if the Lictor, inflambed rather with envie, avarice, or any other wicked affection, then looking to the commandement of the judge, shall kill the same offender, most certen it is, that before God he can not avoid the cryme of murther.

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19. Now, let us applie these thinges to God, whose efficacie before we have proved to worke in all thinges without exception; and so that by those thinges which he hath made as by instrumentes, he executeth in tyme whatsoever he hath decreed from eternitie.

20. Whatsoever God worketh is good, seeing from him, who is infinitlie good, no evill thing can procede; but he worketh all thinges, therefor all thinges be good inso far as they are done by God. And that difference of good and evil hath only place in the instruments, and in those of whom we have spoken in the 14th proposition.

21. For if those instruments be good, and if their actions look to the reveled will of God, they do well, and God also doth well by them. Wherefor that work is alwaies good; as when the good angelles execute that which God commandeth, and holie men do follow, God calling them.

22. Evill instruments, evill, I say, not by creation but by corruption, in so far as they work alwaies, they do evill, and therefor justly do they incurre the wrath of God. But in so far as God worketh by them, they either by ignorance, or els against their purposes, serve to the good work of God. But God himself, by whatsoever instrumentes he worketh, worketh at all tymes well.

23. And so he worketh by those instrumentes, that not onely he permitteth and suffereth them to work, neither doth he onely moderate the event or chance, but also he raiseth them up. He moveth, he directeth, and that which is most of all, he also createth, to the end that by them he shall work that which he hath appointed. Which thinges God doth righteously, and without any injustice.

24. For when the wicked man sinneth, either against himself, either against any wicked person, God, without any sinne, doth, and bringeth to passe, that the wicked man shall take vengeance upon himself, or that evill men shall take vengeance upon other wicked men who have deserved punishment. And

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this one and other work of God is most just; and by such exemples of his judgement, God erecteth and comforteth his afflicted.

25. How oft that evill men hurt good men, the wicked men sinne, and in the end they suffer just punishment, and yet by them, nevertheles, doth God chasten, instruct, and confirme his own; and by the manifest ennemies of his Church doth God make glorious his Church.

26. Yet can it not be said that those evill instrumentes do obey God. For albeit that God worketh his work by them, yet they, so far as in them lieth, and as concerning their own counsell and will, do not the work of God, but their own work, for the which meritably they are punished. Albeit, whatsoever God worketh by the wicked is good, yet whatsoever the wicked men work is evil.

27. Neither is the consequent, God worketh all thinges, *ergo*, he worketh sinne, for the name of sinne is not but in the vicious and faultie qualitie, which is altogither in the instrument that worketh.

28. By reason of this corrupted qualitie, the work which in the self is one, some maner of way is double, and may be divided: Insomuch that the one, that is, the just work of God, directly fighteth and repugneth against the unjust work of man.

29. God, nevertheles, far other waies worketh by his good instruments then he doth by his evill instrumentes. For besides that by his good instrumentes he worketh his work, the good instrumentes also do their work by that strength and efficacie which the Lord ministereth unto them. And God also worketh his work by them, and in them he worketh to will and to perfourme; but by the evill, as by Sathan and wicked men, in so far as they are not regenerat, as oft as God doth execute the just counselles and decries of his eternall will, he declareth his own strength and efficacie in his work by them, which they do either ignorantly, or els against their purpose. And yet, in so far as they worke, God worketh not in them, but he louseth

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the bridle to Sathan, to whom, by his just judgement, he giveth them over, to be moved and possessed forwarde to all iniquitie, that they may be carried to perdition, even by the instigation of the Devil, and by their own proper will."

Thus have you briefly the summe of our doctrin in this mater; which if ye be able by manifest Scriptures, or yet by good arguments from the same deduced, to improve, then can we not refuse to make satisfaction, as the Church of Christ Jesus shall require of us. But if that unjustly ye have accused us, and have further imputed crueltie upon God, by reason that his judgementes, most just in themselves, are to your senses incomprehensible; then can we not of conscience cease to require of you a greater modestie, and also of the lawfull Magistrate, an ordre to be taken that your malice and vennom may be repressed, assuring them, that if by tymes your interprises be not impeded, that they shall shortly feale what confusion ye have of long fostered in your breasts; your poison is more pestilent then that of the Papistrie was in the beginning. God, for his mercies saik, preserve his Churche, and purge your heartes to his glorie.

Touching the secrete will of God, which so oft ye lay to our charge, we shall after speak; as also how God will that all repent, and that all be saved. Before, I have declared that this difference must we make betwixt God and man, be he never so potent, that God hath such power over his creatures that he reuleth them at his pleasure; and is not a simple lawgiver, which onely can devise good lawes, and give commandement that they may be kept, but can not, thogh he wold, frame the heartes of his subjectes to obedience. Such imperfection (I say) can we not admitt in our God, who doth and hath done whatsoever He will in heaven and in earth. And so your similitude of the king commanding, and of the poorest sclave offending, halteth and is imperfect. For God hath greater power over all creatures, yea, even over the king himself, then the king hath over his sclave. For the sclave, when he hath

To the 7 & 8.

Psalm 135.

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offended, by some meanes he may escaip the kinges handes, and so the punishement of his lawes; but so can not the king the handes of God. Consider the inequalitie betwixt God and man, I say, and then I trust your judgement shall either be reformed, or els ye constreined to devise more solide reasons.

I have not learned in the Scriptures to call the corruption of our nature, by the which we rebell against God's commandement, power, but rather impotencie and thraldome. But ceasing to contend or strive for termes, I wonder what ye mean by your conditional, which thus ye forme; otherwise, that is, if we had no power to offend against God's will, we should all observe the will of God and be saved; and so do you conclude there should be no Reprobation. I will not commonly scoffe at you (as your foolishnes deserveth), but here I must say, that this your reason is no better then if I should affirme, that there is no difference betwixt fowles of the ayr and the rest of the creatures of the earth, because that if all creatures had winges, and lyke agilitie, that then all creatures shuld flie aswell as the fowles, and so should there in that case be no difference. Your reason hath no greater strength, for it standeth onely upon conditionalles, whereof ye justly can conclude nothing. Prove, if ye can, that it was and is the immutable counsel of God, that all should be saved, and then ye may prove that there shalbe none reprobate. But now we followe as ye procede.

THE 24TH SECTION.

THE ADVERSARIE.

The Seventh Argument.

As for the sentence of Paule, "God willing to shew his wrathe, to make his power knowen, suffered with long pacience the vesselles of wrath ordeined to damnation," &c., it is direct contrarie to your error, notwithstanding ye abuse it to maintein the same. For seing, as Paul saieth, "God suffered them with greate pacience," he is sorie for them; if he be sorie, then hath he no pleasure in their destruction: and that wherein he hath no pleasure, he willeth it not; and that which he willeth not, he doth not ordein it. Wherefor seing God suffered them with greate pacience to fall, he hath not ordeined
1. them to fall. "Thou despisest (saieth S. Paule) the riches of God's goodnes, and patience, and long sufferance; not knowing that the kindnes of God leadeth thee to repentance." Behold here the cause why God suffered with long

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pacience is, that we should repent and amend. If they had bene absolutely 2.
"ordeined to damnation afore the foundation of the world," then God knew they should never repent and amend: To what purpose then suffered he them with long pacience? Notwithstanding this is plaine ynowgh, and conform to 3.
the Word, yet ye despising whatsoever is contrarie to your mynd, ye stick fast to the literall sense of those wordes, "ordeined to damnation," which wordes be spoken after the common manner of speaking, as they be called after the common phrase of speach. "Ordeined to damnation," whose end is damnation. We use to say of a man that is cast to be hanged, "This man was born to be hanged," notwithstanding it was not his mother's mynd to beare him to be hanged. Such phrases have we verey many in the Scriptures, as Exodus xi., "Pharao harkened not unto you, that many wonders Exod. 11.
may be done in the land of Egipt." Forasmuch as the wonders done in Egipt were grevous to Pharao, he did not disobey the intent that mo wonders which were plagues should come upon him; but this was the issue of his obstinat inobedience. Exodus xix., "Whosoever giveth his sede unto Moloch, let him None of these phrasis be like, if they be wayed.
be slayn, because he hath geven of his sede unto Moloch to defyle my sanctuarie, and to pollute my holie name." The Israelites did not sacrifice their children to Moloch to defyle the Lordes sanctuarie and to dishonor the name of God, but to worship Moloch; notwithstanding that was the issue and end of their sacrifice unto Moloch, that the Lordes sanctuarie was defiled and his name dishonored. Thereby Jeroboam made the two golden calves, whorby he made Israel sinne, to anger the Lord God of Israel. The cause why Jeroboam made the two golden calves and his intention was not to anger God; but he thought that if the people should go up and do sacrifice in the house of the Lorde at Jerusalem, there heartes shulde return to Roboam, King of Juda, wherefor he made two golden calves to make the people sacrifice at Bethel, whereupon followed the wrath of God. "Of their silver and gold Osee 3.
have they made them images to bring themselves to destruction." The Israelites made them images, thinking thereby to be saved and not destroied; yet their destruction followed thereof. Jeremie saieth, "O my mother, alas! Jerem. 15.
that ever thow diddest beare me to be a brawler, and a rebuker of the whole land." Jeremie's mother did not bear him to that intent, but yet this was the end. And in the New Testament, "If any man hunger, lett him eat at home, that ye come not togither to condemnation." The Corinthians came not togither to the intent to purchesse thereby condemnation, but of their abuses in comming togither followed their condemnation.

By these places and many others, we may understand the phrase of Scriptures: "That they be ordeined to damnation, whose end is condemnation, which they receave not by the will of God, which wold all men to be saved, but as a just reward for their sinnes." As the traitor which suffereth oght not to impute his death to the sentence which the judge justly hath given.

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against him, but to his own offence and treason; so when we for our sinnes be ordeined to punishment, we ought not to impute it to God's foreordinance, which is both good and full of mercie, but to our own offences. "And seeing (as S. Paul saieth) God suffered them with greate pacience, their damnation cometh not by the counsell and will of God, for which he is sorie," as he saieth by the Prophete Jeremie, "I have bene sorie for thee so long, that I am wearie." Will ye say, that God wearieth himself, suffering and sorowing for them whom he had reprobated afore the world? Surelie, I think, that thoghe ye hitherto have unadvisedly said so, ye will from hencefurthe say so no more; which God grante in tyme, that ye wearie not the Lord also with sorrowing for you.

Jerem. 15. 6.

ANSWER.

As your cogitations of God be grosse and carnall, so be your judgementes in this place of Scripture decevable and most erroneouse. Esteme it no injurie, that I affirm your cogitations of God to be carnall and grosse. For I can evidently prove, that some of you affirme and maintein, that God hath eies, fete, handes, armes, and finally, all proportion of man: that he slepeth, and doth againe awake; that he forgetteth, and after doth remember; that he is mutable, and doth in verie deede repent.

If these cogitations of the Eternall God be not carnall, yea, if they be not wicked and divelish, let the godly indifferent reader judge.

To the 1. In this your long gradation, which ye make upon the wordes of Paule, ye conclude contradiction to the Holie Ghost and to the plaine wordes of the Apostle. For the Apostle meaneth and plainely speaketh, that albeit God doth long suffer and delay the judgement of the reprobate, yet cease they not to be vesselles of wrath, as they that are ordeined to perdition. But you conclude the contrarie, affirming that he hath not ordeined them to fall. And so because you conclude directly against the Holie Ghost, can not cease to say that your collection is erroneouse. But to give an answer more full and large, in examining the partes of your gradation, I will shew your error and the cause thereof. First, you say, seing God suffered

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them with greate pacience, he is sorie for them. Here, I say, in your first foundation lieth your error; and the cause thereof is, that altogether ye are ignorant of God's nature, in whom neither falleth such sufferance, such pacience, nor such sorow, as you grossely imagine. God is omnipotent, and is compelled to suffer nothing which he hath not appointed in His eternall counsell: He is a Spirit, and free from all such passions as creatures be subject unto; for in his eternall Godhead there is neither pacience subject to paine, neither yet sorowe annexed with anguishe and grief. But when such passions be attributed unto God, it is for the weaknes of our understanding that the Holie Ghost doth subject himself in language and tongue to our capacitie.

Painfull passions fall not in God.

Ye take libertie to yourself, in dyvers other phrases, to explaine them as you please, yea, even against the plaine Scripture. And why will ye not permitt that such phrases be so understand, as nothing be judged upon God's Majestie which doth not agree with his godlie nature? Ye do far abuse the mynd of the Apostle, for he doth not inferre, as you foolishly and wickedly do, that becaus God did suffer with great pacience, therefor he was sorie, but saieth, he did suffer the vesselles ordeined to destruction; that upon the one sort his wrath and power, and upon the other (that is, upon the Elect) the riches of his glorie, might be knowen. This were sufficient to put silence to your folie. But yet somewhat to instruct the simple, I will somewhat travale to make these wordes of the Apostle sensible and plaine.

He had before concluded, "that God wold have mercie upon whom he wold have mercie, and whom it pleased him, those did he harden." As this sentence far surmounted mannes capacitie, so might it engender some doubtes in the heartes of the verie godlie. For they might have reasoned, if that God will finally destroy all the Reprobate, to what purpose are they now permitted to triumphe and to trouble the Elect of God? In answering to which doubt, the Apostle assigneth three rea-

The place of Paul explained.

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sons, why God, with great pacience, suffereth the vessels of wrath: to witt, that his power, his wrath, and the riches of the glorie of his mercie, more evidently may appere and be knowen. For if God should sodanly, from the bellies of their mothers, take away the reprobat, or if he should in the beginning of their malice so break downe their pryde that they could not procede against him, neither should his power appere so great, neither yet his wrathe so just and so holie. But when he doth suffer them, as he did Pharao, from one mischief to procede to another, often removing his plagues, and so declaring himself easie to be entreated, even unto such tyme as their malice and raige do carie them, as it were openly to dispyse God and his power; when then, I say, in one moment God potently doth overthrowe the force and strength of his ennemies, as that he did of Pharao, Senacherib, Balsasar,[1] and of others, then is his godlie power and most just wrathe more evidently knowen, then that he should either have repressed them in the beginning, either yet have taken them away before their malice began to budde. For hereby doth he not onely admonish others of the certen destruction of all those that continue in crueltie, but also giveth to his Churche most singulare comfort, letting them see that his providence and power watcheth for them, even when the raige of the ennemie appereth to devoure all; and so do they see what is God's mercie towardes them. Further, when the Elect advisedlye do consider what be God's severe judgementes against the inobedient, and do consider how prone and readie they themselves be of nature to rebellion against God, except they were conducted by his Spirit, they come to a more livelie feling of God's free mercie and grace, by the which onely they are exempte frome the rank and societie of the Reprobate.

Three causes why God suffereth the wicked reprobate.

Exod. 14. Isaiah 37. Daniel 5.

Albeit that these endes and causes of God's long suffering of the vesselles of wrath do not satisfie you, yet I doubt not but God's afflicted children will and do take comfort of the same,

[1] In our present version, Belshazzar.

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You thus procede in your sophistical Sorites:[1] "If He be sorie (say you), then hath he no pleasure in their destruction. And that wherein he hath no pleasure, he willeth it not; and that which he willeth not, he doth not ordein it: Wherefor, seeing God suffereth them to fall with greate pacience, He hath not ordeined them to fall."

Your foundation being fals, your whole building falleth by the own weight. Before ye procede any further, ye must prove that God did suffer in the vesselles of wrath that which he neither could nor might remedie; and therefor that he fell in greif and sorow that his power was no greater and his wisdom no perfiter. Wo be to your blasphemies, for they compell me to write that which I gladly wold not. Answer.

I have before said, that God nether hath pleasure in destruction, neither yet that he will the death of the sinner absolutely; that is, having none other respect but to their torment and pain onely. But, albeit, pryde and malice will not suffer you to grante that God hath created all thinges for his own glorie, yet will not he be suppliante unto you, that ye shall suffer him to use his creatures at his own good pleasure. Anwer to the 2 & 3.

Where upon these wordes of the Apostle, "Doest thow dispyse the riches of God's goodnes, not knowing that the kyndnes of God leadeth thee to repentance?" ye inferre, that the cause why God suffereth with long pacience is, that we should repent and amend. If you understand that God suffered his Elect, even in the tyme of their blyndnes, yea, and after their horrible falles and offenses, with great lenitie and gentlenes, to the end that afterward they may repent, I do agree with you. For so he did with David, Manasses, Paule, and many others, who, after their conversion, did not dispyse God's lenitie, but did magnifie and praise the same, as in all their confessions may be read. But if you understand Paules wordes so, "that God hath none other end in that his long suffering, but that the reprobate shal repent and amend their wickednes," because

[1] An argument where one proposition is accumulated on another.

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the Holie Ghost assigneth other causes (as before we have declared), I must preferre his judgement and sentence to yours.

Answer to the furious question of the Adversarie.

To your unreverent, bolde, and furious question, in which ye ask, "To what purpose did God suffer them with long pacience, whom before he knew shoulde never repent nor amend?" I can answer none otherwise then I have done before, except that this I adde, That if ye be not content that God's just wrath and greate power shall as well be manifested, both in this world and in the life to come, upon the vesselles of wrath, as that his mercie and the riches of his glorie shall be praised and extolled in the vesselles of mercie, that Experience (which the common proverbe calleth maistres to fooles) shall teach you, that it nothing profited the gyantes, of whom the poetes do speak, to heap up mountane upon mountane, of purpose to besiege Jupiter in the heavens. To use the wordes of Scripture, "If be tymes ye cease not so unreverently to question with God, you shall feele for ever what torment is prepared for such as with humilitie can not be subject to his judgementes incomprehensible." For if ye shall constrein his Majestie to give you a reason which ye may understand and apprehend, what do you elles then go aboute to spoile him of his Godhead?

Answer to the 4.

We stick none otherwise to the literall sense of these former wordes of the Apostle, then the rest of Scriptures permitt and do teach us. But how proper be your phrase and common maner of speaking, by the which ye labor to obscure the plaine wordes of the Apostle, we briefly shall examin. "Ordeined to damnation (say you), after the common maner of speach, doth signifie no more, but whose end is damnation." To grant you somewhat, I wold know of you, Who hath ordeined damnation to be the end of the Reprobat? I perceave by your exemple, that ye dare not say God; for thus ye say, "We use to say of a man that is cast to be hanged, 'This man was born to be hanged,' notwithstanding that was not his mother's mynd to bear him to be hanged."

Besides the foolishe rudeness of this exemple, I wonder at

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your madness, that you can never make difference betwixt God and earthly creatures. Dare you say that God hath no greater power nor foreknowledge in directing and appointing his creatures to their endes, then the mother hath to direct, forsee, and appoint the end of her child! After that she hath born him, she knoweth not what shalbe his naturall inclination; although she instruct and correct him, yet can she not bow and expell his crooked nature; when he is absent from her presence, she seeth not his conversation. If he be deprehended in theft or murther, and so cast to be hanged, she can not (althogh she wold) delyver him from the handes of the judge. But is there any of these imperfections in God? Consider yet, and let reason at length put silence unto your foolishness.

Answer to the 5 & 6.

Where of the wordes of Moises, of Hoseas, Jeremie, and Paul, and of the fact of Jeroboam, ye go about to prove that phrase, in that sense which ye adduce, to be common in Scriptures: I am in doubt whether that first I shall lament your blynd ignorance, or abhorre and detest your abhominable lies, and horrible prophanation of God's most holie worde.

It is impossible that ignorance hath so blynded you all, that none of you can see the diversitie betwixt those maner of speaches, "God hath suffered the vesselles of wrath ordeined to destruction," and these, "Pharao shall not heare you, that many wonders may be wroght," &c. "Give not of thy sede to be offered to Moloch," &c. "I will set my face against such a man, and I will rout him out from the midest of his people, because that he hath given of his sede to Moloch, that he might defyle my sanctuarie and prophain my holie name." And so furth of all the rest; for onelie the place of the Apostle, after the English phrase and speach, may be rightly translated to condemnation. I appeall to thy conscience, thow manifest corruptor of God's Scriptures, if in all the places by thee alledged there be not this particle, *ut*, which is a causal, and not the preposition, *in*, which is in the wordes of S. Paul. And hath malice so bereft thee of knowledge, that thow canst make

Exod. 11. Levit. 13 & 20.

The Anabaptists do plainly corrupt the Scriptures of God.

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no difference betwixt those two dictions or wordes. The Lord of his mercie preserve his Churche from so bolde and so deceatfull teachers. If altogether thou haddest bene ignorant, with sorow of heart I could have lamented thy foolishenes; but perceaving thee, of set purpose and malice, willingly to corrupt God's plaine Scriptures, that thow may blynd the more easely the eies of the simple, with grief and dolor I say, that better it had bene for thee never to have bene born, then thus obstinatly to fight against God's plaine trueth; and that in such furie, that where from the Scriptures thou canst have none assurance for thy error, yet so thow darest wrest them, that they may seme to serve thy purpose. Whersoever thou canst wrest any place, that it may be translated by this Englishe, *to*, there thow ashamest not to affirm, that it is the self same phrase with this of S. Paule: "Vesselles of wrathe prepared or ordeined to destruction." This is sufficient to shew to the learned, yea, even to such as do but understand the first principles of their grammer, thy infidelitie and craftie deceat in this mater. But because such as understand nothing in the Latin tongue can not hastely espie thy craft, I will travaile to make it so sensible as I can.

If I should say, "I am appointed to death, to fele the punyshement of sinne, and so to make sinne to cease," will thow therefor say, that this particle, To, in the former place, where I say, "I am appointed to death," and in the second place, where I say, "To fele the punishement of sinne, and to make sinne to cease," are all one phrase, and oght alike to be resolved? I suppose thow wilt not. For in the first place, it can be none otherwise resolved but thus, "I am appointed to death," that is, I must nedes die; but in the second place, two causes of death be assigned, for where I say, "To fele the punishement of sinne," I understand that one cause of death is, that I and all men may fele how horrible is sinne before God; and in this last, I understand that death so putteth an end to sinne, that after it may not trouble the Elect of God. The phrase of S. Paule is much

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more different from all that thow adducest, then be these phrases before alledged, one different from another. For where he saieth, "vesselles of wrath ordeined to destruction," he signifieth the final end of the vessels of wrath to be ordeined and before determined in God's eternall counsell. And in all these places, "to provoke the Lord to anger," "to defyle my sanctuarie," "to kyndle God's wrath against Israel," "to make Israel sinne," and such like, are their actions signified to be the causes of God's anger, God's wrath, and why he reputed his sanctuarie polluted. Thus thy forwardness causeth me to trouble the simple reader. The place of Jeremie thow maliciously doest perverte, for it can be in nowise so translated. But what tongue soever thow doest follow, thow must say, "Wo be to me, O my mother, that thus hast born me a man that am a brawler, and a man of contention in the whole land." Jerem. 15.

The place of Paule (1 Corinthians xi.) serveth nothing for thy purpose, for albeit there be a preposition, *ad*, which truely may be translated, *to*, yet that speach is far different from the former speach of the Apostle; for where he saieth, "Eat at home, that ye come not together to condemnation," he doth admonish them of the danger which they know not, which was, that such inordinat and riotouse banqueting, joyned with the contempt of the poore, without repentance, must bring condemnation. If thow list replie, and alledge that thow stickest not so much to the termes as to the matter; for in all these former speaches, man pretended one thing, but another thing ensued; what canst thow thereof conclude, but that God's purpose, sentence, and mynd, is not subject to mannes purpose and intention? True it is, that neither Pharao did resist Moises of purpose to be plagued, neither did Jeroboam erect the calves that Israel should be destroied; but yet, because God had so before pronounced, inevitably plagues and destruction did follow their inobedience. If hereof ye will conclude, as ye seme to do, that those whose end is condemnation receave not that by the will of God; because ye conclude that which neither ye Answer to the 6.

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have proved, neither yet go about in this place to prove, I will not trouble myself with answering for this present. But when
Answer to the 8. ye shal go about to prove that God will all men to be saved, (as ye affirme), I hope, by God's grace, to answer sufficiently. For as we doubt not but God's judgementes are holie and most just, so we know that the conscience of the wicked shall fele in themselves, and no where elles, the causes of their condemnation. Neither yet did any of us ever hold, beleve, or affirme, that any reprobat shall have that libertie in the hell to quarell with God of the secrete causes of his condemnation; for the bookes shall be opened, and the secretes of all heartes shall be revealed.

To the 9. To the suffering, pacience, and sorrowing of God, I have before answered, in the beginning of this your last confused gradation, and so I will not trouble the reader with the repetition of the same. The wordes of Jeremie which ye alledge can have no such sentence as ye do gather; for he doeth not speak of any passion that was in God, as touching his eternall Godhead, but onely doeth appeall to the conscience of the people, how oft God had not onely rebuked, but also from time to time corrected them, ever calling them to repentance, and suspending their last punishment, howbeit that they continually from evil fell backward unto worse. And so at length was God wearie oftener to repent, that is to say, at once he wold powre furth his just vengeance, which before so oft he had threatned. Let the first chapter of Isaiah be commentarie to this place, and I trust the sentence shall be plaine. For there he affirmeth, that in that people there was no whole part, that is, all order and policie was almost confounded, Jerusalem was in a maner left desolate by the manifest plagues which had apprehended it; but yet there was no true conversion unto God. And here he saieth, "Thow hast left me, saieth the Lord, and I have therefor lifted up myne hand upon thee, and have scattered thee; I am wearie in repenting," that is, that I have spared thee so long. "I shall scatter them with the fan,

The first chap. of Isaiah declareth the place of Jeremiah wrested by the Adversaries.

Jerem. 15.

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even unto the gates of the earth, (that is, to the uttermost parte;) I have made my people desolate, and I have destroyed them; nevertheles, they have not turned from their waies." I trust that everie reasonable man will consider, that those wordes be rather spoken to admonish the people, how God by all meanes had provoked them to repentance, than to declare unto us what nature or passion God hath in himself, as ye do. For so appereth in this your question: "Will ye say that God wearieth himself, suffering and sorrowing for them whom he had reprobated before the world? Surelie, I think, that thogh ye hitherto have unadvisedly said so, ye will from hencefurth say so no more." And so ye end this portion with a prayer. To the which we answere in few wordes, that albeit we will not take upon us to define what after this shal your cogitations be, yet will we not cease to pray to God, that your heartes being humbled with greater reverence, ye may not onely think, but also speak of God's hie Majestie, of his judgements most holie, most just, and utterlie in this life incomprehensible to our dull senses. But now we go forward to that which followeth.

THE ADVERSARIE.

THE 25TH SECTION.

Now must we declare the saying of S. Luke, "So many as were ordeined unto life did beleve;" where we must understand, that as they that will not obey the trueth are called in the Scriptures, "ordeined to damnation," as is sufficiently proved before, so they which willingly receave the trueth, and couple the word with faith, working by charitie, are called, "ordained to life." Where ye do replie so, Predestination is without any condition; I grant, Predestination to life is the verie free gift of God without any condition. Notwithstanding, we can not come to life, but by the way which leadeth unto life; as he which receaved the one talent of his master, receaved it of a free gift without his deserving, but because he did not walk in the way appointed by his master, his talent was taken from him againe. As afore, by the free benefitt of his master, he was chosen unto life, so now, because he did not walk in the way which leadeth unto life, he is ordeined to damnation. The prodigall sonne is receaved of his father, not for his deserving, but of the free goodnes and benevolence of his father; yet is it required of him, that he walk hereafter as an obedient sonne, which if he did not, the latter fall should

The Eight Argument.

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5. be worse then the first. Predestination, therefore, is the mere gift of God afore the foundation of the world, at the which time nothing could be commanded unto us; yea, afore we either have faith, or else by hearing of the worde we may have faith, no spiritual comandement is given us; but when by hearing we may receive faith, then is the way of salvation opened unto us, in which we must walk if we wilbe saved. And yet foloweth it not, we must walk in the way which leadeth unto salvation; *ergo*, for walking the way of salvation, we are chosen and accepted. For S. Paul saieth, "I am guiltie to
6. myself in nothing, but therefor I am not justified." If a learned phisician seing one in danger of death, whom he can and may helpe, offereth phisick to the pacient, able to restore him to his healthe, and therwith prescribed the pacient a diet. Now that the phisicion giveth phisick to the pacient, it cometh onely of his owne goodnes; but if the pacient do not order himself according to the prescript of the phisition, the phisick shall not help him. And thoghe he observe good diet, yet ought he not to repute the receaving of his healthe to himself, but to the phisicion; for thogh it lieth in the pacientes power to hinder his healthe, yet it is not in his power to give himselfe healthe. So Christ, our phisition, offereth healthfull phisick to us all, and therewith prescribeth our diet, which if we do not observe, the phisick shall not availe us. And thoghe we observe it, yet ought we not to attribute our healthe to ourselves, but to the liberalitie of our phisition, Christ, which, of his mere mercie, hath made us whole. Wherefor, to return to our argument, they are ordeined unto life so many as will gladly walk in the way which leadeth unto life, that is, true obedience, and they do beleve, as S. Luke saieth.

ANSWER.

The place of St Luke in the Actes 13 chap.

The place of Saint Luke which ye studie to corrupt, is written in the thirteenth chapter of the Actes of the Apostles,—the light whereof is so cleare that you be never able to obscure the same; and therefor I will not spend much tyme in confutation of your vanitie, for the simple trueth of the historie shall disclose the same. Paule comming to Antioche, in Pisidia, did upon the Sabboth enter in to the synagoge of the Jewes, and therein preached a sermon most profound, most effectual, and most comfortable; in the which, by plaine Scriptures, he proved that the same Jesus which was crucified at Jerusalem was the Messias promised, and the onely Saviour of the world. At which doctrine many of the Jewes being offended, and yet some embracing the same, Paule, the next Sabboth, preached to the

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whole multitude of the Jewes and Gentiles assembled together. But when plaine contradiction was made by the Jewes, who did blaspheme Christ Jesus, Paule and Barnabas taking boldnes, said to the Jewes, "First, it behoved to speake to you the word of God; but because ye reject it, and judge yourselves unworthie of the life everlasting, behold we are turned unto the Gentiles, for so hath the Lord commanded us." At which wordes the Gentiles rejoysed, and glorified the word of the Lord, and did beleve (saieth the text) so many as were ordeined to the life everlasting. Who is he so blynd that doeth not To the 1. see, that in these wordes the Holie Ghost assigneth the plaine cause why some do beleve, and others do blaspheme and remaine unfaithfull? The cause why some beleve is, becaus they are ordeined to the life everlasting, as they that are the shepe John 10. of Christ Jesus, therefor they hear and beleve his voice; the others, as they are left in the power of the Devill, (as they that are never given to Christ, to the end that they may receave life,) remaine in blyndnes, and so by contradiction and blasphemies declare themselves whose children and generation they are. None of us do, nor yet ever did deny, but that the Elect of God do willingly receave and obey the trueth, and that the Spirit of God so worketh in their heartes, that not onely they beleve, but that also they are made frutefull, yea, and that frome justice they procede to justice. But as the whole praise of this we give to God, arrogating no part of it to ourselves, so we constantly affirme, that neither faith, neither workes, neither yet any qualitie that is, or that God foresaw to be in us, is the caus of our Predestination or Election to life everlasting, as before we have sufficiently proved.

Ye are so inconstant, now granting Predestination to be the To the 2. free and mere gift of God, without any condition of our workes, and immediatly after ascribing it to our obedience, and walking in the way that leadeth to life. In this your inconstancie, I say, I can not tell how to handle you. One thing I see, to my great comfort, that the glorie of Christ Jesus is so manifest, and the

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power of his trueth so invincible, that he will reigne in the middest of his ennemies. The devilles themselves must acknowledge and openly confesse that he is Lord, and the onely Son of the living Father; and the adversaries of his truth, even when they fight most outrageously against the same, are compelled to give testimonie to it, as you do here in divers places; as when ye say, "It foloweth not, that because we must walke in the way that leadeth to life, that therefor, for walking in the way of salvation, we are chosen, and (as you write) accepted." But because, I say, that your inconstancie doth streight carie you to denial of this, I can the less credit that this be a trew confession, proceding from an unfeined heart, but rather that it is the mightie power of the veritie, which (will ye, nill ye) compelleth your mouthes to give witnessing, upon her part, against yourselves. God grant I may be deceaved in this my judgement; for him I take to record, that I am no otherwise ennemie to any of you, then in so far as ye declare yourselves manifest ennemies to the free grace of God, and to the glorie of the eternal Sonne of the eternal Father of Christ Jesus, our Lord and onely Saviour.

To the 3. Becaus there is nothing in this, your last part, which I have not before at large declared in diverse places, I will onely note those thinges in the which we do not agree with you.

First, we use not to call Predestination the free gift of God, but we call it the eternall and immutable counsell of God, in which he hath purposed to choose to life everlasting, such as pleased his wisdom in Christ Jesus his Son.

Secondly, we say, that ye are never able to prove by the parable of the talents, that any reprobate was chosen in Christ to life everlasting.

To the 4 Thirdly, that we fynd neither contract, neither condition betwixt the loving Father and the Prodigal son in his admission to his former dignitie; neither do we so understand the parable as that the said son, newly receaved to mercie, wold after, of stubbornes, unthankfully depart from his father. But rather,

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we think, that as he had felt what miserie he susteined by folowing his own counselles, he wold in tymes comming, with all diligence, attend the counselles of his father.

Your mynd is dark to us, and your writing obscure, where that ye say, "Before we have faith, or by hearing of the Worde can have faith, no spirituall commandement is given unto us." And also, the wordes of Saint Paule appeare not to be well applied, for there he entreateth no thing of Election, but onely affirmeth, "That in the dispensation of that ministerie committed to his charge, he knew himself giltie in nothing," &c. But because these be of small importance, I onely put you in remembrance of them. To the 5.

Last, your similitude betwixt your Phisition offering medicin, and prescribing diet to the patient, who may receave and kepe it at his pleasure, and so recover healthe, and preserve his life, or else reject and break it, and so procure his own destruction; and betwixt Christ Jesus, who, (say you,) being our Phisition, offereth healthfull phisike unto us all, and therewith prescribeth our diett, which, if we do not observe, the phisike shall not availe us, &c. This similitude in one respect doeth altogither mislyke us. For it taketh from our soveraign Lord his chief glorie and honor, for in no wise can we abyde that his mightie power, and operation, by his Holie Spirit, shalbe compared to the power of any creature. We say not, we teach not, nor believe not, that Christ Jesus doeth onely offer medicin, and prescribe a diet, as a common Phisition, leaving the using and observation of it to our will and power. But we affirme that in the heartes of his elect, he worketh faith, he openeth their eies, he cureth their leprosie, he removeth and overcometh their inobedience; yea, by violence he pulleth them furth of the bondage of Sathan, and so sanctifieth them by the power of his Holie Spirit, that they abyde in his veritie, according as he hath praied for them, and so continue they vessels of his glorie for ever. And herein we dissent from you, as afterward more plainely shal appeare in discussing of this which you thus terme:— To the 6.

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The Adversarie.

The 26th Section.

The Second Error of the Carelesse by Necessitie.

The Elect, thogh they sinne grevously, yet are they never out of the favor and election of God, neither can they by any meanes finally perishe. So that Adam when he transgressed, and David committing adulterie and homicide, were favored even then and beloved of God, and never out of Election, neither could they be. Againe, the Reprobate, as Saul and Judas, were never in the favor and election of God, neither could they nor none other Reprobate attein unto salvation.

Read the Answer to the 27 Section.

Answer.

The trueth of this proposition doeth nothing excuse your malice and hatered: for albeit there be no sentence in it conteined, which, being rightly understand, is not aggreable to God's Worde; yet of what purpose and mynd ye have gathered these sentences, leaving those that should explaine the same, it easely may appeare, by that venom which ye spew furth against us, to make us odious to all the world, as here followeth.

The Adversarie.

The 27th Section.

The Confutation of the Second Error.

1. Here you see how they divide all men into two sortes, one Elected or chosen, which by no meanes can perishe, and the other rejected or Reprobate before the world, so that by no meanes can they be saved. What can the devill wishe his membres to teach more for the advancement of his kingdom than this? What can be invented to provoke men to live a careles and libertyne life more, than if they be persuaded that neither well-doing availeth or pleaseth God, nor evill-doing doeth hinder unto salvation? This is asmuch as if one should counsell the pacient to refuse all healthfull phisick, and good diet, and so wilfully to be the occasion of his own death. For if they be (say they) of the Elect sorte, though they do commit theft, fornication, adulterie, murther, or any other sinne, yet be they still so beloved and favored of God, that they cannot finally perishe. And if they be of the Reprobate sorte (say they), neither repentance, amendment of life, abteining from evill, neither fasting, praier, almes, nor other good dede can availe; for they be so hated of God before the world, that by no meanes they can obtein his favor, but, of mere necessitie, do what they can, they must perish. Seing it is so, saieth the naturall man, let us set the cock on hoope, and let the world slyde, let us eate

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and drinke, for to-morow shall we die. So the people sit downe to eat and drink, and then ryse up to play. Why, masters, have ye no conscience thus to cause the people of God to sinne? See ye not how ye be led with the same spirit that Balaam was led withall, when he counselled to give occasion of sinne to the people? I know ye wil answer, that I mean not so. Mean what ye list, and do what ye can, yet this is the issue and frute of your doctrine, and who so ever is thus corrupt by you, without herepent, he shall die the death; but God shall require his bloode of your hands. Marke well your disciples: how many of them endeavore themselves to bring forth the frutes of repentance, how many of them seek for power to crucifie the flesh with the lusts and concupiscence thereof? How many of them can we perceave by their conversation, that they have cast of the old man and put on the new man, walking sincerely in their vocation and the true feare of God? But if they accustom to frequent your Congregations, as the Papistes do the Masse, then be they faithfull brethren. I hold my peace of that ye use to have respect of persons, preferring the welthie, which, if they be liberal, thoghe they be drowned in many vices, you use to help up such sores with this saying, There is none during this life that can be knowen to be in the election, be he never so vertuous, nor any out of the election be he never so unrighteous; after this manner ye do heall them up, so that they need not to indevor themselves to bring furth the frutes of livelie faith, for the surest token of their election they think to be, that they be of your Congregation. But Christ saieth, "In that shall al men know that ye are my disciples, if you do what so ever I command you;" and againe, "Ye shal know them by their frutes. For a good man out of the treasure of his heart bringeth furth good things." Yet ye say no man can be knowen to be either in the election or out of the election during this life; and for proofe hereof ye alledge the saying of Paul, The devil doeth transforme himself into an angel of light. To which I breifly answer, that God doeth never transforme himself into an angel of darkness; wherefor, so long as ye walk in darkness ye be not of God. But thus ye take the most shameful men by the hand, flattering them, so that they can not return from their wickednes, whereby it appeareth that ye be not sent from God; for ye by your doctrine give occasion to the people to sinne. And the Lord saieth, "If they had bene in my counsell, they had turned my people from their evil waies and wicked imaginations;" but such lippes, such letuce; such disciples, such masters: for your chief Apollos be persecutors, on whom the bloode of Servetus crieth a vengeance; so doeth the blood of others mo, whom I coulde name. But forasmuch as God hath partly alreadie revenged their bloode, and served some of their persecutors with the same measure where with they measured to others, I will make no mention of them at this tyme. And to declare their wickednes not to have proceded of ignorance and humane infirmitie, but of indured malice, they have, for a perpetuall memorie of their crueltie, sett furth

2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7.

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bookes, affirming it to be lawfull to persecute and put to death such as dissent from them in controversies of religion, whome they cal blasphemers of God. Notwithstanding they, afore they came to autoritie, they were of an other judgment, and did bothe say and write, that no man ought to be persecuted for his conscience saik; but now they are not onely become persecutors, but also they have given, as far as lieth in them, the sword into the hands of
8. bloodie tyrantes. Be these, I pray you, the shepe whom Christ sent furth in the middest of wolves? can the shepe persecute the wolf? doth Abel kill Cayn? doeth David (thogh he might) kill Saul? Shortly, doeth he which is born of the Spirit kill him which is born after the fleshe? Mark how ye be fallen into most abhominable tyranny, and yet ye see it not. Thus I am con-
9. streined even of conscience to write. That if it shal please God to awaik you owt of your dream, that ye may perceave how one error hath drowned you in mo errors, and hath broght you to a sleping securitie,—that when ye walk even after the lustes of your heartes, thirsting after bloode and persecuting poore men for their conscience saik, ye be blynded, and see not your selves, but say, Tushe, we be predestinat; what so ever we do, we are certen we can not fall out of God's favor. Awake, therefor, and look what danger ye be in, and how by your poisoned doctrine ye infect the people of God, and draw them to a secure, ydle, and careless life.

Answer.

The crimes laid to our charge in this matter be haynous. For, first, we are accused that we provoke men to a careless and libertine life. So that by us the people do nothing but eate, and drink, and rise up to play.

That we have no conscience, but being led with the spirit of Balaam, give occasion of sinne to the people.

That none other frute doeth ensue our doctrine, but libertie to sinne, for our disciples are cruel murtherers, subject to all iniquitie, respecting persones, and flattering sinners.

And last, that by our poisoned doctrine, we infect the people, and bring them to a secure, ydle, and careless life.

To the 1. Because I will omit no notable part of your booke to overslippe without some reasonable Answer, I will follow your ordre, although it be confused. If you be able by plaine Scriptures to prove a thirde sort of men which neither be elect, neither yet reprobat, then shall we learn of you other wise to divide.

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But if God, by his first voice pronounced in this mater, made mencion but of two seeds; and if Christ Jesus, when he shall come shall set one army on the right hand, and another upon the left hand, without mencion made of anie third sort of men; we can not repent, nor yet call back the trueth of our doctrine, albeit that ye in despite and furie cry, "What can the devil wishe his membres to teach more for the advancement of his kingdome then this? What can be invented more to provoke men to live a careless and libertine live more, then if they be persuaded that neither well doing availeth or pleaseth God, nor evil doing hindreth unto salvation." And so forthe ye procede in your first accusation.

Before I have required, and yet againe do require, of God's faithful lieutenants in earth, I meane of lawful Magistrates who rule in God's feare, whom ye utterly studie to abolish and deprive; of them I saie, I have required justice to be ministered betwixt us and you, without respect of persones.

Let the heaven and earth (if men wil not), yea, let God and his holie Angelles, in whose presence we walke, bear recorde and witnes how unjustly and maliciously ye accuse us, that we provoke the people to a careless and libertine life. If ever it can be proved by our doctrine or writing, that we affirme that there is no difference betwixt vertue and vice, that the one neither pleaseth God, neither yet the other doeth displease him, let us without mercie die the death. But and if the whole scope of our doctrine tend to the contrarie; yea, if our lives and conversacion (how so ever the Devil doeth blynde your eyes) be such, as they onely may convict your blasphemie; and last, if the order of that Citie where this doctrine is taught be such, in punishment of iniquitie, and that without respect of persone, that the like justice hath never been executed against open offenders sithence the daies of the Apostles, in any Christian commonwelth: then can we not cease to desire, that this your former blasphemie may be revenged upon your owne heades.

We do not denie but this is one part of our doctrine, That as

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God's counsel is immutable, so is his election sure and stable; insomuch that the elect can not finally be reprobated, neither yet that the reprobat can ever become elect, no more then the wheat can become darnell or darnel become wheat. But do we adde no more then this? Do we teache men to set cock on hoope, and so to let the worlde slide, as scoffingly ye write? Or, do we not rather continually affirme, that as God of his great mercie hath called us to the dignitie of his children, so hathe he sanctified us, and appointed us to walk in purenesse and holiness all the daies of our life; that we shall continually fight against the lustes and inordinate affections that remaine in this our corrupt nature; that if we finde not the Spirit of Christ working in us, that then we can never be assured of our election; for the conscience of all such as without bridle followe iniquitie, can never be assured of God's present favour during the time that they delite in sinne? Finally, none of your Anabaptistical sort require greater obedience to be given unto God, and unto his lawe, then we do; except that ye put your scollers in vaine esperance, that by the power of their owne free will, they may at length come to such perfection as no sinne shal stire in them. But we, by the contrarie, attributing all to the free grace of God, do affirme, that continually in this life, we must confesse that sinne so remaineth in us, that except that God, for Christ Jesus' saik, did pardon the same, his wrath justly shoulde be kindled against us. Let all our writings and the whole summe of our doctrine beare recorde whether thus we teache or not. And are not the lives and honest conversation of many thousands, (we praise God of his great mercie,) professing the same doctrine, able to convince your malicious impudencie? How many have left their countries, possessions, and lands, and for liberty of their conscience onely, do live a sober and contentible life? How many have given, and daily do give, their lives and blood for the testimonie of Christes trueth, and for that they will not defile themselves with idolatrie?

The doctrine of those that defend God's eternall Predestination.

The godlie life and death of a great nombre in our daies proveth the Adversaries to be most impudent liers.

And yet thou ashamest not to ask, how many of them can we

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perceive, by their conversacion, that they have cast of the olde man and put on the new man, walking sincerely in their vocacion? Shal not the great multitude of Christes deare martyres of late in England, (thou wilt not say that they were all Anabaptistes,) the long pacience of our brethren in France, and that cruel persecution of late risen in Italy, Naples, and Spaine, for Christes trueth onely, put thy venemous tongue to silence?

To the 2.

The Adversaries make no conscience to be present at the Masse.

If I shoulde demande of thee, Which of the two did moste mortifie the flesh; he that for conscience saik leaveth countrie, friends, riches, and honours; or he, that to gape for worldly promotions, or yet for any other purpose, doeth cover himself with Esau's clothes, (I use your owne termes,) and so denying what he is, will swear, if neede be, that he is not Jaakob; which of these two, I say, doest thou think to have come nearest to the forsaking of him self? Or yet another, Whither doth he walke most sincerely in his vocation, that, living upon his just labors, is redy to communicate according to his habilitie to the necessitie of his poor brethren; or he who, loitering in one place, or trotting from countrie to countrie, wolde have all things in common, contrary to the ordre of nature and policie? Or yet the third, Which of the two doeth most crucifie the lusts and concupiscences of the flesh; he that laieth downe his necke even under the axe of a cruell and unjust magistrate, and that also when he suffereth unrighteously; or he that wolde abolish and destroie the good ordinance of God, all lawful magistrates, and distinction in policies?

Anabaptists wold have all things comone.

That you be the one, and we be the other of these two sortes of men, it is evident ynough. And upon whome the crime cleaveth and justly may be laied, further examination shall declare. Now come I to the Order of that Citie in the which this doctrine is taught, received, and mainteined. What maketh the poore citie of Geneva, poore, I say, in man's eyes, but riche before God, by the plentifull aboundance of his heavenlie graces; what maketh it, I say, so odious to the carnal

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men of this worlde? Assuredly not this doctrine wherewith ye charge us. For that coulde well please the carnal man, to let him live at his pleasure without all punishment. Is it not the just rigor of justice, and the severitie of discipline executed therein, in such sort, that no manifest offender, where so ever he hath committed his offence, doeth there escape punishment? Is not this it that so doeth offend, not onely the licencious of the worlde, but even you dissembling hypocrites, can not abide that the sworde of God's vengeance shall strike the murtherer, the blasphemer, and such others, as God by his worde commandeth to die? Not so by your judgementes; he must live, he may repent. And those commonwelthes do ye highlie praise, where men may live as thei list, be subject to no law nor order; yea, where the drunkard and such others abhominable persons are permitted to live quietly, and finde favor to escape punishment and shame. But because in the streets of Geneva dare no notable malefactor more shew his face (all praise and glorie be unto God) then dare the owle in the bright sunne, therefore is it hated; therefore it is called blood-thirstie, and thus blasphemously traduced, as after ye write.

What maketh the citie of Geneva odious to the world.

Anabaptistes wold have no sin punished.

To the 4 Thou saiest that amongest us there is respect of persons, that we preferre the welthie; which, if they be liberal, although they be drowned in many vices, yet we use to heale up their sores, &c.

I am assured that thy owne conscience doeth convict thee of a malicious lie, in thus writing; for thou canst not be ignorant what the citie of Geneva hathe of late yeres susteined for rooting out those pestilent persons, who labored to destroy the Lord's vineyard planted in the same. And what was the cause that so they were conjured against the libertie of Christes Evangile? The hatered, wilt thou and they say, which they did bear against strangears? I answer, But no mo strangears were then in Geneva than were before, when the cheif captains of that faction were most earnest professors of the Evangile, (in mouth I meane.) And in verie dede, if they wolde have labored

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to have expelled the strangears, they had bene enemies to their owne comoditie; for by the multitude of strangears their common welth doth flourish: and none did receave such benefite of strangears, as those that required Christes doctrine to be overthrowen.

They were Papistes, (thou wilt say,) and therefore hated the religion. I answere in their defence, that in mouth and external profession they were not, but alwaies they protested that they wolde never revolt to Papistrie again. But in few words I will open the cause of their conspiracie. Thei were corrupt in manners, filthie of life, perverters of justice, and such, finally, as by whome the blessed Worde of God was sclandered and evil spoken by. The preachers called for reformacion of manners. They boldly and sharply rebuked even those that were in highest auctoritie. One of the chiefest of the band was excommunicated, and so did remaine mo yeres than one. The Consistoire called for justice to be executed, and for penalties to be appointed, for the inobedient and open contemners. But nothing coulde prevaile; the multitude of the wicked was so great, that in votes and voices they did prevaile. And so was the iniquitie of the wicked mainteined for a long ceason. Which being considered, the godlie as well that were native borne, as also the strangers, consulted upon the next and surest remedie, and that after that not onely the moste parte of strangers were determined to depart, but that also that faithfull servant of Christ Jesus had in publike sermon commended his flock, with the weeping eyes of many, to the protection and providence of God, and had publikely pronounced, that he would be no Minister in that church where vice coulde not be punished according to God's worde, where the wicked shoulde tryumphe and make lawes at their pleasure. After this consultacion, it was concluded that a reasonable nombre of strangears, whose fidelity and honest conversacion had long bene tried and wel knowen, shoulde be made burgesses, and free to have voice in Counsell, and in making civil statutes. Which being under-

Geneva was sore vexed because they would not suffer sin unpunished.

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stand, the wicked began more manifestly to utter themselves; they opponed themselves to the magistrates, they plainly denied that any strangers shoulde be free, they appeled to the greater Counsel; which being gathered, did justifie the decree of the Sindiques, (so be the chief magistrates called.) Shortly after did the whole venom burst out: for after feasting and banqueting of all sortes of villanes, was the conspiracie concluded and put in execution. For with one consent they invade upon the night one of the chief magistrates: they cried victorie and triumphe, but God sodanly repressed that furie, so assisting, without the arme of man, his servant and lieutenant for that time appointed in that Citie, that first he recovered the ensigne of his just and lawfull office againe; and thereafter so put to flight that rebellious and great multitude, that some being apprehended and committed to prison, the rest were dispersed by the onely power of God. For that is a thing most evident and plaine, that the numbre of the one did in twenty degrees surmount the other.

This do I write, to let the simple reader understand, althogh thou be blynded, what was the original of the trouble which Geneva did after suffer. What did the strangears, I pray thee, gaine by their libertie? As touching the worlde, I say nothing, for no kind of comoditie they lacked before which after they did obteine, onely this excepted, that in counsel they shoulde have voices and place to speake: which thing also did onelie offend those oppressors of justice and mainteiners of iniquitie; for thereby did they perceive, that their interprises shoulde be broken, and that statutes shoulde be made to reforme their insolencie. To proceed, justice being executed without respect of person upon those that were apprehended, the rest who did escape, to great nomber, were pronounced rebelles. Then began skirmyshes upon every side of Geneva, victualles were commanded to be cut of, great threatnings were blowen in the eares of all the godlie; and when these coulde not prevaile, then were devised practise after practise, treason was conspired, and the

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ennemies hoped for possession of the Citie. But this being revealed and the practisers punished, Sathan returneth to his owne nature again. For after that no intreatment coulde prevaile, open warre was denounced against them, a daie was sett that they shoulde be restored, and that with great sommes of money to be delivered unto them, by reason of their former losses and injuries susteined. And this sentence was pronounced, not by the rebelles onely, but by a potent comonwelth and their ancient friendes. Hereupon were made, by the rebelles, fyres of joye, defiance was sent, the day was appointed that the siege should beginne, and victualles should be cut of: esperance nor comfort rested none to us, but God and the messingers of his worde, which then sounded the trumpet most boldly and most clearly, promising, even in our greatest desperation, the same glorious deliverance which shortly after followed. For God by his power did mittigate that rage, and converted the hearts of our ancient alliance to remember their dueties toward God and his servants, and so to enter with the citie of Geneva into a newe societie and league.

The Adversaries are malicious sclanderers of the trueth.

Nowe to return to the malicious sclanderer: If we were such as thou doest accuse us, to wit, that we put no difference betwixt vice and vertue, that we suffer the people in a dissolute life, that we respect the persones of the rich, and heale their sores with unprofitable plaisters,, that we onely desire that all men frequent our congregation, and that we esteme that to be the surest signe of their election; if these, I say, were true, to what purpose did all the preachers endanger their lives (and that continually by the space of three yeres) for obteining of discipline? Why shoulde many godlie strangears have rather chosen to have left that commonwelth in the which they were, with quietness, permitted to live as best semed to them, rather then that they wolde abide the sight of iniquities, that daily did increase? And why did the godlie within that Citie so hasard liberty and life, that rather they had determined to die in defence of a just cause, then that ever any manifest ennemie

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to God and vertue shoulde be admitted to beare rule in that comonwelthe? If we had beene of that opinion, which most villanously thou laiest to our charge, that neither vertue pleaseth God, neither yet that vice displeaseth him, had we not beene most foolish, and most miserable of all other creatures? Plaine it is that our power, to mannes judgement, was nothing comparable to the power of our adversaries: place of refuge was none left to the godlie there assembled. And yet, let the ennemies themselves witnes against us, if in the least one iote, their request was granted. Yea, let the place of execution witnes, if, when we looked for nothing but for the extremitie to be attempted, if more favor were shewed to the offenders apprehended, then if no suche trouble had bene feared or appering. If thou repliest, that greater offences are oversene in such as favor our doctrine; I answer, All those in mouth did favor the same Evangil which we professe. The cause of the strife did onely arise for the puritie of life which ought inseperably to be joyned with the externall profession. I coulde recite mo then one of those, that semed to be then pillers in Geneva, as touching riches, worldelie estimation, and liberalitie towards the poor, being also of the nombre of the strangears, who, for suspicion of offences were, and remaine to this daie, some exiled, some condemned to perpetual preson; for whose deliverance and receaving to the church againe, there hath bene offered greater sommes then perchance might intise an Anabaptist to go the masse, (I wil not say to be a Papist,) and yet have they obteined nothing.

Now breifly to recite that which I have laid against thy first accusation: if you be neither able to prove by our doctrine nor writings, neither by our own lives and conversations, neither yet by the lacke of justice in that Citie in which this doctrine is taught, received, and mainteined, with what face canst thou affirme that we teach the people a careless and libertine life? Hathe ever any man more strongly and more earnestly confuted those pestilent opinions of the Libertines, then hath that man

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whome most ye accuse for this doctrine? Let his notable worke writen against the Libertines,[1] twelve years ago, be a testimonie against your manifest malice.

Thus have I, in answering to your first accusation, answered somewhat to other crimes conteined in all the foure. Now in answering to your second, I will labor to touche, and put ende to that which resteth in the others.

Answer to the 2 accusation.

Ye accuse us that we have no conscience, to deceave the people of God. For thus ye demand, "Why masters, (I know this phrase of olde,) have ye no conscience, thus to cause the people of God to sinne? Se ye not that ye be led with the same spirit that Balaam was led withall, how he counselled, to give occasion of sinne to the people of God?" And so after that ye have taken all excuse, as ye think, from us, ye boldely pronounce your sentence, that the blood of such as perish shal be required of our handes.

I heare the accusation verey vehemently intended, but when I seeke for the probation of every part, I find none, but accusation followeth accusation. For still ye accuse us, that we are flatterers of sinners, that we take wicked men by the hand, that we heale them with this saying, There is none during this worlde that can be knowen to be in the election, be he never so vertuous, nor any out of the election, be he never so unrighteous. After this maner (say you) do we heale them up; so that they nede not to endeavor themselves to bring furth the frutes of livelie faith. These, I say, be your accusations, the probation whereof ye delay so long, that after ye never remember it. And so must your auctorite stand in force, bothe to accuse and be admitted for witness.

Answer to the 3, 4, 5, & 6.

But we must except against you, for two causes most reasonable; First, because ye are our accusers, and our partie adversarie. Secondarely, becaus ye are venemous liers, persons defamed, and blasphemers of God. That ye are vennemous and malicious liers, I have in divers places before sufficiently

[1] See note *supra*, page 178.

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proved, how ye falsifie and perverte the plaine Scriptures; how ye adde to our wordes and diminish from them at your pleasure; and, finally, how that ye invent and lay crymes to our charge, which ye be never able to prove, as here in this place ye shame not to affirm that we heale up the sores of those that be drowned in vices, with such wordes, as ye write. We have had offenders in dede amongst us, (I mean in the congregations which ye accuse,) of diverse sortes and diverse estates. Let any convict us, that ether in exhorting, admonishing, or in executing judgment, we have used any such persuasion or wordes to the offenders. But if the offender was to be admonished or exhorted, if we have not, in God's name, exhorted them to walk as it became the sonnes of light: and if judgement was to be executed against them, if we have not used the rule of God's word; judgeing of the tree, not after the secrete election of God, but according to the manifest frutes, pronouncing that membre unworthie to abyde in the bodie whose corruption was able to infect the rest of the membres: if this order, I say, be so streitlie kept amongst us, that never sithence the daies of the Apostles was it more uprightly kept in any congregation, with what faces can ye say so, that we take wicked men by the hand? that we teach them that they neede not to bring furthe the frute of a livelie faith? Ye alledge that Christ affirmed, that a good man from the good treasure of his heart bringeth furth good things. And so do we; and do no lesse affirme then ye do, although in an other understanding, (as I before have declared,) that we must observe the commandement of Christ, if we will be knowen to appertein to him.

We think it no assured nor certen signe of election, to be joyned with this or that congregation. We know that Sathan was once joyned with the angelles, Judas with Christ Jesus, and many fals brethren with the company of the best reformed churches and chiefest apostles. But wonder it is, that ye burden us with that, in this one case, which is your plaine doctrine, which with toothe and naile ye defend. Do ye not plainely

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write, that no man is so elected in Christ Jesus, but that he may fall and utterly become a reprobate; and none is so reprobated, but by repentance he may be elected? The plaine contrarie whereof we teach and mainteine. O, say you, ye mean of the signes, that they are never certain. I answer, that in verie dede, sometymes the elect, as touching mannes judgement, is lyke in estate with the reprobate. And againe, that sometimes the reprobate do beautifully shyne in the eyes of men for a space, as exemples be evident. But yet I am sure that you be never able to prove that we affirme, that in this life no difference may be knowen betwixt the two. The end of our doctrine tendeth to this, but chiefly to prove, that from election cometh faith, from a livelie faith do good workes spring, in which the elect continuing and going forward, not onely make their own election sure, as St Peter doeth teach, but also give a testimonie of it to others, before whom their good workes do shyne. And so by the contrarie signes and effectes, we affirme that the reprobate do manifest and utter themselves. And so I saie, that wonder it is that ye burthen us, as that we shoulde affirme that no man can be knowen either to be in the election or out of the election during this life. But more wonder it is that ye affirme us to adduce these wordes of St Paul, "The devil doeth transforme himselfe in to an angel of light," for probation of our purpose. For I, for my owne part, do protest before the Lord Jesus, that I never did so understand that place of the apostle; neither yet thinke I that any of you be able to shewe, in any of our writings, those wordes adduced for probation of that purpose.

Trew it is that I have long understand, and to this houre do understand, that by those wordes wolde the Apostle admonish the Corinthians, and all others, that sodenly they should not receave and believe every person and doctrine that offereth itselfe, under the cloke of justice and of trueth; but that diligently we shoulde trie the spirites from whence they are, and whether they come from God, or not. For if the Devil, the

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great angel of darknes, enemie to mankind, and father to all false prophetes, can yet so transforme himself, that for a time his purpose and intent are not sene; but that under the cloke of amitie and love he seeketh our destruction, as in tempting the woman doeth plainly appere; how much more can his servants and soldiors, being deceitful workers, transforme them in to the apostles of Christ, pretending at the first entrie nothing but love and justice, nothing but God's glorie, nothing but mortification of the flesh, and such like most beautiful pretences, althogh that yet these things be most farre from their heartes. Thus, I say, do I, and with me I am assured who so ever deeply do wey the purpose of the Apostle in that place, understand that sentence; and do not, as ye falsly write, alledge it to prove that no man can be knowen to be either in the election or out of the election during this life. It may be, that we have saied and written, (as the trueth is,) that no man coulde have knowen, by the good workes of that happie thief hanged with Christ, that he had bene God's elect, before that in that anguisshe, so instantly he began to defend Christes innocencie,
Luk. 23. so sharpely to rebuke the other being a blasphemer, and humbly to submit himself and praie that Christ wolde remembre him when that he came in to his kingdome. And contrarie wise, that none coulde have defined by the evil workes of Judas before his treasonable defection from Christ Jesus, which was but fewe daies before his death, that he had bene the re-
To the 6. probate. And what serveth this for your purpose? howe can ye hereby prove that we are the sonnes of darkness, that we take the most shameful men by the hand, flattering them, so that they cannot returne from their wickedness, and so by our doctrine give occasion of sinne to the people, declaring ourselves thereby not to be sent of God, &c.?

Are ye able to prove, that we teache the people not to convert from their sinnes and wicked imaginations, to the last houre of their departure? do we promise to all theeves and
To the 7. murtherers the same grace and favor that David, Peter, and

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this thief founde? I trust thy own conscience knoweth the contrarie. Permit or suffer we (be they never so hie) manifest offenders to live amongest us, after their owne appetites? And yet ashamest thou not impudently thus to writ, "But such lippes, such letouse,[1] such disciples, such masters: for your chief Appollos be persecuters, on whom the blood of Servetus crieth a vengeance; so doeth the blood of others mo whome I could name. But for asmuch as God hath partely alredie revenged their blood, and served some of their persecuters with the same measure where with they measured to others, I will make no mention of them at this time."

Blessed be God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who so reveleth the things that lie in secret, that hypocrites at length, how soever they dissemble for a time, are compelled to notifie and bewray themselves. Before, to some it might have appeared that the zeale of God's glorie, the love of vertue, the hatered of vice, and the salvation of the people, whom, by us, ye judged to be blinded and deceived, had carried you headlonges into such vehemencie, (as ye be men zealous and fervent,) that no kynd of accusation was thoght by you sufficient to make us odious unto the people; lies against us imagined were not onely tolerable, but also laudable and holie; scriptures by you willingly and wittingly corrupted, did serve to defend God's justice and his glorie, what we by our doctrine oppugne and improve. But these your last wordes do bewrey the mater, that in what soever faces you list transforme yourselves, your grief will appere to procede from another fountaine then from any of these which ye pretende, and I before have rehearsed.

This improveth the opinion of that sect that say, that they for their pure lyfe are heard whensoever they praye.

O the death of Servetus,[2] your deare brother, for whose de-

[1] In the edit. 1591, "letuce."

[2] Michael Servetus was burned for heresy at Geneva, on the 27th October 1553. Calvin's share in his condemnation has given rise to much obloquy. But in vindication of such a sentence, he published his "Defensio Orthodoxæ Fidei desacra Trinitate, contra prodigiosos errores Michaelis Serueti Hispani: vbi ostenditur hæreticos iure Gladii coercendos esse, et nominatim de homine hoc tam impio iustè et merito sumptum Geneuæ fuisse supplicium. Per Iohannem Caluinum. [Genevæ,] Oliua Roberti Stephani, M.D.LIIII." 8vo.

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liverance your champion Castalio solemnely did praie, with whom, if once ye coulde have spoken, that kingdome, which ye hope for, had begonne to be enlarged; his blood, I saie, with the blood of others, I thinke ye meane of your prophetesse Jone of Kent,[1] do crie a vengeance in your eares and heartes. That none other cause do you see of the shedding of the blood of those most constant martyres of Christ Jesus, Thomas Cranmer, Nicholas Ridley, Hugh Latimer, John Hooper, John Rogers, John Bradfurth, and of others mo, but that God hathe partly revenged their blood, that is of your great prophet and prophetesse, upon their persecuters, and hath served them with the same measure with the which they served others, I appeale to the judgement of all those that fear God. What is thy judgement, and the judgement of thy faction, of that glorious gospel of Christ Jesus, which of late hath bene suppressed in England; what is thy judgement of those most valiant soldiars and most happie martyres of Christ Jesus, upon whom, O blasphemous mouth, thou saiest God hathe taken vengeance, which is an horrible blasphemie in the eares of all the godlie; I will not now so much labor to confute by thy pen, as that my ful purpose is to lay the same to thy charge, if I shal apprehend thee in any commonwelth where justice against blesphemers may be ministred, as God's Word requireth. And hereof I give thee warning, lest that after thou shalt complein, that under the cloke of friendship I have deceived thee. Thy manifest defection from God, and this thy open blasphemie spoken against his eternall trueth, and against such as most constantly

The Adversarie justifieth the cruell murthering of Thomas Cranmer, Nicolas Ridley, &c.

[1] Elizabeth Barton of Aldington, in Kent, was commonly called the holy maid of Kent. The story of her alledged trances, revelations, and prophecies, is mentioned by the various historians of the reign of Henry VIII. After a period of eight years, she was detected, and confessed her impostures to Archbishop Cranmer, as he himself relates in a letter, dated 20th of December 1533.—(Todd's Life of Cranmer, vol. i. p. 89-94.) She was hanged for treason and heresy, in 1534.—(Strype's Cranmer, p. 22.) But the allusion is rather to Joan Bocher, usually called Joan of Kent, who was tried and condemned for various heretical opinions, in April 1549: after vain attempts to reclaim her, she was consigned to the flames, in 1550. (Ib. p. 181.)

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did suffer for testimonie of the same, have so broken and desolved all familiaritie which hathe bene betwixt us, that althogh thou were my natural brother, I durst not conceale thy iniquitie in this case.

But now to the matter. I have before proved you malicious and vennemous liers, and therefor unworthie to bear testimonie against us. Now resteth to be proved, that ye are blasphemers of God, and persones defamed. Solomon affirmeth, "that he that justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the innocent, are alike abominable before God." Which sentence is not to be understand of judges onelie, but is to be referred to everie man; for of everie one doth God require, that he hate, and in his heart and mouth condemne, that which God himself hath condemned; and also, that he allow and justifie that which God pronounceth just, lawfull, and holie. And if the contrarie be founde even in a multitude, God doth not onelie punishe the chief offenders, but also upon their favorers, mainteiners, and justifiers, doth he commonly poure the same plagues and vengeance. And hereof is that rare and fearefull punishment taken upon Dathan and Abiram sufficient proofe; for they joyned with Corah were the authors of the conspiracie raised against Moises and Aaron. But did they alone sustein the vengeance? No; but their housholds, children, wyves, tentes, and substance in the same conteined, did the earth in a moment devore and swallow up. And why? because they did justifie the cause of those wicked, and in so far in as in them lay, did maintein the same. No man, I trust, will deny, but that he who killeth an innocent man is a murtherer, althogh it be under the cloke of justice. But that he who, having lawfull auctoritie to kill, and yet suffereth the murtherer to live, is a murtherer, in this perchance some men may doubt. But if the law of God be diligently searched, this doubt shall easely be resolved. For it will witness that no less ought the murtherer, the blasphemer, and such other, to suffer the death, then that the meeke and the fearer of God should be defended. And

Prov. 17.

Num. 16.

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also, that such as maintein and defend the one, are no less criminal before God then those that oppresse the others.

1 King 23. One example I will adduce for all. God gave in to the handes of Achab, Benhadad, king of Syria, who was great enemie to Israel; whom he upon certen conditions of amitie sent home to his countrie. But what sentence was pronounced against Achab? "Thus saieth the Eternall, Becaus thow hast let go oute of thy handes a man whom I appointed to die, thy soule (that is, thy life) shalbe in the place of his life, and thy people in the place of his people." Now to you justifiers of Servetus: Servetus was an abominable blasphemer against God; and you are justifiers of Servetus: therfore ye are blasphemers before God, like abominable as he was. The *major* I intend shortly to prove, so far as shalbe sufficient at this tyme. The *minor* ye do not denie; for some by Apologies, some by bookes, and all by your tongues, do justifie his cause. And the conclusion is infallibly gathered of the former wordes of the Holie Ghost.

An argument that proveth the Adversaries to be like blasphemers as was Servetus.

Ye will not easely admitt that Servetus be convicted of blasphemie; for if so be, ye must be compelled to confesse (except that ye will refuse God) that the sentence of death executed against him was not crueltie; neither yet that the judges who justly pronounced that sentence were murtherers nor persecuters; but that this death was the execution of God's judgement, and they the true and faithfull servants of God, who, when no other remedie was founde, did take away iniquitie from amongst them. That God hath appointed death by his law, without mercie, to be executed upon the blasphemers, is evident by that Levit. 24. which is written, Leviticus 24. But what blasphemie is, may some perchance doubt. If righteously we shall consider and wey the Scriptures, we shal fynd that to speak blasphemie, or to blaspheme God, is not onely to denie that there is a God, but that also it is lightly to esteme the power of the eternal God; to have, or to sparse abrode, of his Majestie such opinions
a. as may make his Godhead to be doubted of; to depart from the true honoring and religion of God to the imagination of

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man's inventions; obstinately to maintein and defend doctrine and diabolicall opinions plainely repugning to God's trueth; to judge those things which God judgeth necessary for our salvation, not to be necessarie; and finally, to persecute the trueth of God, and the members of Christes bodie. 4. 5. 6.

Of the first and second sort both was Sennacherib and proud Rabsases [Rabshakeh]; who, comparing God with the idoles of the Gentiles, did not onely lightly esteme his godly power, but also, so far as in them was, studied to take out of the heartes of the Israelites all right and perfect opinion of God. At whom the Prophet, in the person of God, demandeth this question, "Whom hast thou blasphemed?"

Of the third sort were both Israel and Juda, declining to idolatrie against God's expresse commandement, whom the Prophetes so often do affirme to blaspheme the Holy One of Israel. "Because (saith Isaiah) they have repudiated the lawe of the Lord of Hostes, and the worde of the Holie One of Israel, contumeliously have they blasphemed." And Ezechiel, after that he hath most sharply rebuked the Israelites for their idolatrie, he addeth, "Yet in this your fathers have blasphemed me, thogh they had before grievously transgressed against me; for when I had broght them into the land, for the which I lifted up my hand to give it them, they sawe every hie hill, and all the thick trees, and they offered there their sacrifices, and there they presented their offering," &c. Ezech 20.

Of the fourth sort were Hymeneus and Alexander, whom Paul gave to the Devil, that they shoulde learne not to blaspheme. 1 Tim. 1.

Of the fift sort were the multitude of the Jewes, who judged, and to this day do judge, the death of Christ Jesus, his blessed ordinance, the publike preaching of his Evangel, and the administration of his Sacraments, to be nothing necessarie to our salvation.

And of the last, doeth not Paul denie himself to have bene a blasphemer, and a persecuter, before his conversion. 1 Cor. 15.

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Now, if I shal plainely prove the most parte, yea, all these, (except, ye will say, he shed no man's blood,) to have bene in your great prophete Servetus, yea, yet to be in you all of the Anabaptisticall sort, have I not sufficiently proved both him and you blasphemers?

Albeit I be more neare of his and your counsel then any of you doeth knowe or suspect, yet will I not utter, at this present, all that I can, but will abide till such opportunitie as God shal offer unto me, to notifie his and your poison to the Church of God, that of the same the godlie may beware.

For this present, I say, first, That Servetus, whom you justifie, did maintein, and, by worde and writing, dispersed abrode, wicked and most devilishe opinions of God, which might not onely make his Godhead to be despised, but also called in doubt and question. He judged those things nothing necessarie to salvation which Christ hathe commanded and ordeined. And last, that impugning the true religion, he did most obstinatly maintein his diabolical errors, and did resist the plaine trueth to the death. His erroneous opinions of God and of his eternal Godhead were these.

The blasphemous errors of Servetus.

Whosoever beleveth any Trinitie in the essence of God, hath not the perfect God, but goddes imagined, and illusion[1] of Devils.

2. That Christ is the Sonne of God, onely in so far as he is begotten of God in the wombe of the Virgin, and that not onely by the power of the Holy Spirit, but because that God begat him of his owne substance.

3. That the Worde of God descending from the heaven, is now the flesh of Christ, so that the flesh of Christ is from the heaven. Further, that the bodie of Christ is the bodie of the Godhead, the flesh of God, godlie and heavenlie, as it that is begotten of the substance of God.

These be the detestable errors of Johan of Kent.

4. That the soule of Christ is God, and that the flesh of Christ is God, and that aswel the flesh as the soule were in the verie substance of the Godhead from all eternitie.

[1] In the edit. 1560, "elusion."

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5. That God is the Father of the Holie Ghost.

6. That Christ having the participation of the Godhead or of God, and participation of man, may not be called a creature, but one that doth participate with creatures.

7. As the Worde descended into the flesh of Christ, so did the Holie Ghost descend in to the soules of the Apostles. The Adversaries looke also to be Christes at length.

8. That Christ, so long as he was conversant in the flesh, receaved not the new Spirit which he was to receave after his resurrection.

9. That in all men, from the beginning, is ingrafted the Spirit of the Godhead, even by the breath of God, and yet may the Spirit, by the which we be illuminated, be extinguished.

10. That the substanciall Godhead is in all creatures. That the soule of man, althogh it be not God, it is made God by the Spirit, which is God himself. The present error of the Anabaptistes.

11. That the soule is made mortall by sinne, even as the flesh is mortal; not that the soule returneth to nothing, as neither doth the flesh, but that it dyeth when that it is deprived of livelie action.

12. And that it is holden in hell languishing, as that it should never after live; but these that be regenerated have another soule then that they had before, because of the substance which is renewed, and for the Godhead which is joyned.

13. That alike it is to baptise an infant, as to baptise an asse or a stone.

14. That there is no mortal sinne committed before the age of twentie years.

These I have thoght sufficient to produce at this present, to let the reader understand that it is not without cause that I say, that Servetus, whom ye justifie, is a blasphemer. I have omitted things more horrible and grievous, to avoid the offence of godlie readers, which sodanly I am not minded to manifest, except that I shal understand that your vennemous tongues be not stayed by these. I appeale to the conscience of Castalio himself, if in everie one of these former Propositions which con-

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cerne the Godhead, there be not conteined horrible blasphemie. For what is more blasphemous, then to affirme that such as beleve in the Godhead three distinct Persons, have no true God, but the illusion of the Devilles: That Christ Jesus is not the Eternal Son of the Eternal Father: That there is no distinction betwixt the Father and the Sonne, but in imagination onely: That Christ hath no participation of man's nature, but that his flesh is from heaven; yea, that it is the flesh of the Godhead: That in stockes, stones, and all creatures, is the substantiall Godhead? If these, I saie, be not blasphemies worthie of ten thousand deathes, especially being obstinatly mainteined against all wholsom admonition, let all those that feare God judge; yea, even you yourselves, how furious that ever ye be, judge in the matter, even as ye wil answer before the throne of the Lord Jesus. That contempteously he spake of baptising of the children, of the publyke preaching of the Evangill, and of the administration of the Lordes Supper, that have you common with him. For this is your glorie and persuasion to all your scholers, that these things be nothing necessarie to salvation; yea, most streitly ye inhibit all of your sect to frequent any congregation but your own. And whether this be blasphemie of your parte, or not, to affirme those thinges nothing necessarie which Christ Jesus hath established, and commanded to be used in remembrance of him to his againe comming, I am content that judgement be referred even to those that be most indifferent betwixt us and you.

To supersede the rest of your blasphemies, I return to your booke, because, that after I purpose to speake of your holie conversation, and of the great perfection that is founde in you.

To that which resteth in the Seventh.

Ye accuse us, that we have written bookes, in a perpetuall memorie of our crueltie, affirming it to be lawful to put to death such as dissent from us in religion, notwithstanding that some of us were of another mynd before they came to auctoritie; and further, that we have given the sword in to the handes of bloody tyrannes.

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Trew it is, that bookes are written bothe by you and by us. For your Master Bellius affirmeth, That lawfull it is not to the Civil magistrat to use the sworde against heretikes. To whome that godlie learned man, Theodorus Beza, hath answered. In which, if you or your Master thinke not yourselves fully answered, ye may put pen to the paper when you list, looking to receave answer with convenient expedicion. John Calvin hath besides committed to writing the Examination of Servetus, and the Cause of his miserable death. Which bookes, albeit to you they be a perpetual memorie of crueltie, yet I have good hope, that to our posteritie they shalbe profitable (as now to us be the godlie labors of those that before us have foghten the same battel against the obstinate heretikes). And further, seing bothe you and we must abyde the sentence of one Judge, we can not greatlye feare the prejudice of your faction.

To the Sixt question answered by a question.

Where ye aske, If these be the shepe which Christ sent furth in the middes of wolves, and if the shepe can persecute the wolves? And I demand for answer, Whether Moses was a shepe or a wolf, and whether that fearefull slaughter executed upon idolaters, without respect of persons, was not as great a persecution as the burning of Servetus and Joan of Kent? To me it appereth greater. For to them was granted no place of repentance; no admonition was given unto them, but, without further delay or question, was the brother commanded to kill the brother; yea, the father not to spare the sonne. I think, verely, that if judgement shoulde be referred unto you, that then shoulde Moises and the tribe of Levi be judged wolves, sent to devore innocent shepe. But because we knowe what God hath allowed, we the less feare the judgement of man. If ye claime any priviledge by the comming of the Lord Jesus, himself wil answer, "that he is not come to break nor destroy the law of his heavenlie Father."

Lev. 23.

Where further ye ask, If Abel did kill Cayn, or David Saul, or he which is born of the Spirit did kill him which is borne of the flesh? I answer, If your question be of Abel, David, and

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Isaak, in their proper persons, that none of them did kill any of these fore named. But if thereof ye inferre no more, Is it lawful for any of God's Elect to kill any man for his conscience sake? I answer, That if under the name of Conscience ye include whatsoever semeth good in your owne eyes, that then ye affirme a great absurditie, manifestly repugning aswel to God's lawe as to the examples of those whom God hath highly praised in his holie Scriptures. But because continually ye claime to your conscience, to remove from you that vaine coverture, I ask, If the murtherer, adulterer, or any other malefactor, should be exempted from punishment of the law, althogh he alledge that he did all thing of conscience? I trust ye will confesse, that he ought to be mocked that will claime the patrocinie of conscience, when that he doth plainely offend against God's will reveled. And why will ye not grant asmuch in this matter which now standeth in contraversie? Because (say you) externall crimes have no affinitie with maters of religion; for the conscience of everie man is not alike persuaded in the service and honoring of God, neither yet in such controversies as God's worde hath not plainely decided. But I ask, If that be a just excuse why pernicious errors shall be obstinatly defended, either yet that God's established religion shall be contemptuously despised.

How Anabaptistes abuse the name of Conscience.

Shifting of Anabaptistes.

To make the mater more plaine, Israel and Judah were not bothe of one minde in the honoring of God, after that the tenne tribes departed from the household of David. Yea, Juda in the self was often corrupted with pestilent idolatrie, insomuch that the fathers did offer their children to Moloch; which I am assured they did not without some zeale, which they thoght to be good conscience. But notwithstanding those controversies, divers opinions, and forged consciences at their own appetites, Helias did kill the priestes of Baal; and was he borne, I pray you, of the flesh? or was he not rather regenerated by God's Holie Spirit? Josias did kill all the priests of the hie places, and did burne men's bones upon their altars; and was he, I besech you, brother to Cayn; or rather fellow-heire of the king-

Answer to the Shifting.

2 King 23.

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dom promised with Abel? But that he was God's most faithful king, after David, I trust ye wil not denie, except that ye will say, as before boldly ye have affirmed of other, that God revenged blood with blood, in that he suffered him to fall in battel. But the Spirit of God, speaking in the Prophet Jeremie, is more mylde of judgement, for he absolveth him, and doeth affirme that he was taken away for the sinnes of the people. Consider these things, and convict us if ye can by Scriptures.

We say, the man is not persecuted for his conscience, that, declining from God, blaspheming his Majestie, and contemning his religion, obstinately defendeth erroneous and fals doctrine. This man, I say, lawfully convicted, if he suffer the death pronounced by a lawful Magistrate, is not persecuted, (as in the name of Servetus ye furiously complein,) but he suffereth punishment according to God's commandement, pronounced in Deuteronomie, the xiii. chapter. Deut. 13

To put end to these your calumnies for this time, two things I wolde require of you. First, That thus foolishly ye abuse not the name of conscience, which you say constreineth you to write, to the ende that ye might awake us out of our dreames. Conscience, for assurance of the self in weldoing, must have a testimonie of God's plaine will reveled; which ye shal not fynd to be your assurance, that so odiously ye may accuse us of those crimes whereof ye be never able to convict us. To the 6. Conscience must be stayed upon God's Worde.

The second is, That by plaine Scriptures and solid reasons ye studie to confute our doctrine, and not by raging wordes, spoken, as it were, by men in a frennesie. You shal never be able to prove, either that our doctrine is poysoned, either yet that we drawe the people to a secure, ydle, and carelesse life. Blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who of his mere mercie hath caused our doctrine somwhat to fructifie; our good hope is, that with us and his afflicted Church He will continue his fatherlie favour, in such sorte, that from tyme to tyme he will leave documentes to the ages following, that His heavenly

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doctrine is not sent in vaine. To Him be glorie for ever. Now to that that followeth in your booke.

THE 28TH SECTION.

THE ADVERSARIE.

Now to that which ye say, That Adam and David, even in committing of idolatrie, homicide, all kind of wickednes, they be stil in God's favor. Marke, I pray you, how the saying of the Prophet Zacharie is verified in you. In
Malac. 2. this, saith he, ye grieve the Lord, that ye say, "They that do evil are good in
1. the sight of God, and such please him." Can there be any thing more manifestly spoken against your error? And truelye it semeth to me, that ye wold intyce
2. the people by this doctrine to sinne: for if the Elect lose not the favor of God
3. by sinne; neither the Reprobate, forasmuch as ye say [they] never were nor can be in his favor, so that they can not lose that which they have not, who
4. nedeth to feare, then, to lose the favor of God by sinne? It is no matter then what we do. But contrarie to your doctrine, we be taught by the Holie Ghost in the worde, "That God hateth all workes of iniquitie, and he that committeth sinne is of the Devil." And doeth God favor them that be members of
5. the Devil? Paul sayeth, "No unclean person hathe any inheritance in the kingdome of Christ and God." Then was Adam, when he transgressed, not of the kingdome of God, for he was an unclean person, defiled with sinne. If
6. he was not of the kingdome of God, then was he of the kingdome of the Devil,
Osc. 6. and so was he out of the Election. "Even as Adam did, sayth the Lord, so have they broken my covenant, and set me at naught." If Adam, in break-
7. ing the Lord's covenant, setting God at naught, was stil beloved of God, then may we say with the wicked as it is written, "It is but lost labor to serve the Lord: what profit have we for keeping his commandements?" Therefore may we say that the proude are happie, and that they which deale with ungodlines are set up. Such a spirit have ye carelesse Libertines, as your doctrine well de-
8. clareth. Did not God threaten Adam, that in what daye so ever he shoulde eat of the frute he shoulde dye the death, not only corporall but also eternall? They which forsake the commandements of God, forsake God himself, as the Prophetes sayeth, "They are not the Lord's, for they have unfaithfully forsaken him." Wherefore Adam, when he forsoke God, was not the Lord's, but the servant of death and sinne. "To whomsoever ye commit yourselves as servants to obeye, (saieth Paul,) his servants ye are to whom ye obey, whether
9. it be of sinne unto death, or obedience unto righteousnes." And again, "If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, the same is none of his." And neither Adam nor David were led by the Spirit of Christ when they sinned, for the Spirit of Christ dwelleth not in such as forsake him and obey the Devil. And "Except Christ (saith the Apostle) dwel in you, ye are cast away." Then
10. Adam and David were cast awaies, that is, reprobates, when they sinned; for

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neither were they in Christ, nor Christ in them; in whom the Election of God was and is. But to what purpose shoulde I thus contend with you that Adam did falle out of the Election, seing in this ye agree not yourselves; for your congregation which is at Geneva, in the Confession of their Faith,[1] say, "That of the lost sonnes of Adam, God elected some to life, and the rest he refused." Either improve their belefe, or else confesse with them that all the children of Adam were lost by transgression. If they were lost, then were they out of the Election with their father Adam, from the transgression unto the promise was made. "Therefore (saieth Paul) damnation came of one sinne unto condemnation;" and in another place, "Like as by Adam all dye, even so by Christ shal all be made alive." Here doeth the Apostle witnes plainely, that we all by Adam do dye. S. John saieth, "He that beleveth not is alredie condemned; the wrath of God abideth on him." Then were Adam and David, and all such workers of iniquitie, for that tym that they sinned, alredie condemned, being void of faith. And coulde they be in the state of condemnation and Election both together? Harken what followeth, "And the wrath of God abideth on him," as Adam from the transgression unto the promise felt the force of the wrath of God. Thus we see, that Adam and David, and all other, when they sinned, they be out of the love, and favor, and Election of God, unto they repent and be borne anew; for otherwise can they never enter into the kingdome of heaven. Again, S. John saith, "Ye knowe that no mansleyare hath eternal life abiding in him." David was a mankiller, wherefore he had not eternal life abiding in him. But during the time of his wickednes he was the childe of death, as the Prophete Nathan shewed him, David geving judgement against himself. Without faith it can not be that any man shoulde please God. Adam and David, when they sinned, they were without faith; then pleased they not God. If they pleased him not, they displeased him; so that they were fallen from the love and favor of God.

11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16.

ANSWER.

Albeit that I perceave that either ignorance doeth so impede you, or else that malice doeth so blynd you, that neither ye wil nor can understand that which in the self is most sensible and plaine; I will nevertheles, yet once againe, repete that which before I have said, to the end that we may give testimonie aswell to those that now live as unto the posteritie to come what doctrine it is which ye so furiously impugne. If ignorance be the cause why thus ye rage against us, ye may be taught, if ye list to bestowe your eares to heare, your eyes to read, and

[1] See note *supra*, vol. iv. p. 171.

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hearts to understand. For our doctrine is not, as some of you do complein, darke nor obscure, except that it be to those to whom the Apostle affirmed that his Evangell was hid. But if that malice which ye have conceaved against the Eternal trueth of God, doth so blynd you that ye will not see the bright sun in the mid-day, there resteth no more to us but to desire of God, either to remove this your develish malice, (I write, as knoweth God, even from the grief of heart,) or else so to stay and brydle it that it trouble not his afflicted Church.

Answer to the 1, 2, 3.

Ye accuse us, as that we made no difference betwixt vice and vertue, sinne and justice: neither yet betwixt Adam and David as they were elected in Christ Jesus before the foundacions of the worlde were laid, and betwixt Adam transgressing, and David committing adulterie and murther. Ye further seeme to charge us as we should affirme that God hated not sinne, neither yet that he respected vice. If our short, plaine, and unfeigned Confession, be able to satisfie you in these three dowtes, I have good hope that after this ye shall have no occasion to suspect us in such causes.

Our Confession touching sinne.

First, Before God, before his holie Angelles in heaven, and before his Congregation in earthe, we protest and acknowledge that sinne, vice, and all kind of iniquitie, is, and ever hath bene, so odious in the presence of God, that he never suffered the same unpunished in any of his elect children. That for the same, not onelie death but also common calamities hath apprehended all mankynd even sithence the first transgression.

Touching vertue and justice civil.

That vertue, justice, and civil honestie, (besydes the justice of the regenerate children,) hath so pleased God, that for love of the same, he hath mainteined, and to this day doth maintein, commonwelthes, albeit that many grievous crymes be committed in the same. As God (we say and affirme) loveth equitie, justice, chastitie, trueth, mercie, and temperance, so doth he in some sort highly reward the same; and hateth unrighteousnes, filthie life, deceat, excesse, crueltie, and riotous living, which often he punisheth even in mannes eyes. And this dif-

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ference, we say, God maketh even amongst those that be not regenerate, neither were ever called to the true knowledge of salvation. And this much briefly, for the first, second, and third.

This difference we make betwixt Adam and David elected in Christ Jesus, and Adam and David transgressing God's holie commandement and will revealed: Adam and David elected in Christ Jesus before the foundations of the worlde were laid, were so loved in the same Lord Jesus their head, that when they had most horribly fallen and offended, yet did God seke Adam, call upon him, gently reason with him, and at length, convicting his conscience of his offence, did make unto him that most joyfull promise of reconciliation. Of the same love we say it proceded, that God did send the prophete Nathan to David, the offender; that by the fiction of an other person he letteth him see the horror of his sinne; that he did first terrifie and beate downe his conscience, and after most tenderly did erect and lift it up from the pitt of desperation. All these graces (say we) proceded frome God's immutable love, which did remaine constant, both towardes the one and towardes the other, even in the tyme of their greatest unthankfulnes; and that because they neither were beloved nor elected in themselves, but in Christ Jesus their head, who neither did transgresse nor offend in any iote, against the will of his heavenly Father.

How and in whom God loveth sinners even when they have offended.

But Adam and David transgressing and horribly falling from God, were so hated in themselves, and for their sinnes, that, first, it behoved the innocent Sonne of God, by his death, to make a satisfaction for their sinnes, as also for the sinnes of all God's children. And, secondarely, we say, preache, write, and maintein, that the sinne was so odious before God, that his justice could do none other but inflict upon Adam and his posterity the penaltie of death corporall, the punishementes and plagues which daily we do see apprehend God's children. That upon David he did execute his just judgement, which in these

How odious is sin in God's presence.

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wordes he pronounced: "Now therefore the sworde shall never departe from thyne house; because thou hast despised me, and taken the wife of Uriah the Hittite to be thy wife. Thus saieth the Lord, Behold, I will raise up evill against thee oute of thyne own house; and I shall take thy wives before thyne eyes, and give them unto thy neighbour, and he shall lye with thy wyves in the sight of [this] sunne. For thou didst it secretly, but I shall do this thing before all Israel, and before
2 Sam. 12. the sunne." This sentence, I say, most justly pronounced, was afterward most sharply, and yet most justly (for sinne committed) put in execution. And so do we affirm, that none of God's children, be they never so deare, shall escaip punishement, if contempteously they transgresse.

I suppose that this our confession nothing doth offend you, except in this one thing, that we affirme that God still loved Adam and David after their sinne, before that his holie Spirit wroght in their heartes any true repentance. And yet I wonder why this should offend you, seeing that we assigne the cause, not to be themselves, neither any vertue within themselves, but Christ Jesus, in whom they were elected and chosen. The signes of God's love we have evidently proved, and the end and issue did witness that God's love was not mutable. If you require Scriptures for the probation of the same, behold they are readie. "If when we were enemies we were reconciled unto God by the death of his Sonne, much more we, being reconciled, shalbe saved by his life." And a litle before in the
Rom. 5. same chapter, "When we were sinners Christ died for us," &c. And the Apostle John, "Herein appereth the love of God towardes us, that his onlie begotten Sonne hath he sent in to the world, that we may live by hym. Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us; and hath sent his Sonne in the mercie seat for our sinnes."

These are very plaine, and we think that no reasonable man wil denie to Adam and to David that which the Holie Gost maketh common to all God's elect children, to witt, to be

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beloved of God even when they were ennemies, dead in sinne, drowned in idolatrie, and polluted with all filthines, as witnesseth the Apostle in these wordes: "And you, when ye were dead by sinne, in the which ye sometymes walked, according to this worlde, according to the prince to whom power is of the ayre, which is the spirit now working in the rebellious children: amongst whom we all had sometymes conversation, in the lusts of our flesh, doing those thinges which pleased the fleshe and the mynd, and were of nature the sonnes of wrathe, like as others. But God, who is riche in mercie, for his own great love, by the which he loved us, even when we were dead by sinnes," (marke, and if ye be offended, complein upon the Holie Ghost,) "hath quickened us togither with Christ, (by grace ye are saved;) and hath raised us up togither with him, and togither with him hath caused us to sit amongest the heavenlie, by Christ Jesus; to shew in the ages to come his most rich grace, in his liberalitie, by Christ Jesus." God open your eyes, that you may see the light, and mollifie your heartes, that ye may magnifie with God's children his superaboundant love and mercie, bestowed even upon the most unworthie. Ephe. 2. The unspeakable gift of God towardes his elect.

If ye think that this love hath onelie place before that man offend, you see the Holie Ghost plainely repugneth to your sentence, for he speaketh to them that had bene polluted and defiled with all sinnes. If yet ye replie, But that was during the tyme of their ignorance, and not after they were illuminated by grace; ye have said nothing against our Confession. For we affirme, that God loveth sinners, being wrapped in death and damnation by sinne; and that we have plainely proved. But yet, for your satisfaction and instruction, (for I take to record the Lord Jesus, that I wold bestow my own life to joyne you fully to Christ Jesus,) I will procede a little further with you. Do ye think that the sinne of David, touching the nature and qualitie of the sinne itself, was more horrible and odious before God, than were all the sinnes committed in Ephesus by those to whom the Apostle writeth, yea, then the sinnes which were Replie. Answer.

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done amongest the whole Gentiles? I trust ye will not think it. And we clerely see that God loved the elect in Ephesus and amongest the Gentiles when they were drowned in all kynd of iniquitie. If still ye replie, David was unthankfull, who, after so many benefites receaved, so traterously declined frome God, following his own appetites, and of purposed counsell, murthering his innocent servant, and that with great ignominie of God: this neither do, neither yet ever did we denie; but yet as the question is other, so is not our confession proved false, albeit David was unthankfull, (yea, and after Adam, most unthankfull of any of God's children to his daies.) For herein standeth the doubt, whether that the unthankfulnes of God's children, after they have once received mercie, grace, and large benefites from God's hands, doth so alienat the mynd of God from them, that he beareth to them no maner of love, till they turn to him by repentance. The contrarie hereof we hold and affirme, not fearing to avowe, that repentance, as it is joyned with faith, which is the free gift of God, so is it the effect of God's constant love toward them, and no cause of the same.

Faith & repentance are effects of God's love which he beareth to his elect in Christ Jesus.

And for the more ample declaration hereof, let us compare the deniall of Peter, and the defection of all the Apostles, with the sinne of David. Albeit Peter was not called to be a worldlie prince, as David was, yet I think ye wil not denie but to be called to the office of an Apostle, to be Christes scholler the space of three years, to be so familiare with Christ, that he alone with other two did see Christ their master transfigured, did heare that joyfull voice from heaven, did see Moises and Helias speak with him; my trust is, I say, that ye will not denie but that those were graces nothing inferior to David's kingdom temporall: and yet how horribly that Peter did denie Christ Jesus, ye are not ignorante. Yea, but, say ye, Peter wept, and soght grace with repentance. But I ask when? The Holie Ghost doth answer that it was after the cocke had crowen, and that Christ Jesus had looked unto him. Proceded that looke, I beseech you, from love or hatered? It should seme in

David's offence compared with Peter's deniall of Christ.

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dede, by the effect, that it came from love. For then it is said, that Peter remembered the wordes of his Master, and so went furth and wept bitterly. By all likelihode, then, were his Masters wordes before quyte blotted oute of his memorie. But God be praised, we nede not to depend upon uncerten conjectures. The fall and deniall of Peter (as in another place we have declared) came not by chance, as a thing whereof Christ Jesus was ignorant. He did foresee it, and before speaketh it. And what comfort gave Christ Jesus unto him before he pronounced that sharp sentence, "Before the cock crowe, thow shalt denie me thrise?" This comfort, I say, which ought of all faithfull most to be extolled, "Simon, Simon, beholde, Satan hath desired you, that he may sift you as wheat: but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith faile not: and thow being converted, confirme thy bretheren." Did Christ pray for Peter, knowing that he should denie him? So he affirmeth. Doth the praier of Christ Jesus and the effect thereof vanish in a moment? God forbid that such impietie take place in our heartes. The Apostle doth witnes, that as his sacrifice is ever recent before God, so is his praier effectuall ever for his elect. Doth God utterly hate, detest, and abhorre such as for whom Christ Jesus praieth, yea, commendeth to his mercie, before they fall in to danger? My hope is that the godlie will not so judge. Luk. 22.

God cannot hate such as Christ praieth for.

The same I might prove by the stowte denial of Thomas, (besides the defection of all the rest,) who after that the glad tydings of Christes resurrection, was confirmed by the testimonie of many, did obstinatly say, "Except that I put my fingers in the holes," &c., "I will not beleve." Here ye see was no repentance of his former infidelitie, but rather an augmentation and increase of the same. And did it procede from love, or from hatered, that Christ cometh unto him, and doth offer to satisfie his curiositie in all thinges, willing him to be faithfull and not to remaine an infidele?

Consider now how simply and plainely we have opened our myndes unto you: God grant you his holie Spirit rightly to

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understand, and charitably to interprete the thinges that be spoken, &c.

Now will I briefly go throughe these Scriptures which ye abuse and violently wrest against us, not making so long discourses to amend your judgement as I have done to fore. For if things alredie spoken shall not profit, I must confesse myself destitute of counsell for this tyme. The wordes of the Prophete (where negligently ye name Zacharie for Malachie) neither serve your purpose, neither yet are verefied in us. For we be not as the priests, who in those daies permitted plaine iniquitie, and contempt of God and of his statutes, universally to be done by the people, and yet they did not oppone themselves to the same. Read the Prophete, and convict us of those thinges if ye can.

Mala. 2.

To the 3.

We are sorie that ye have no better opinion of us, then that our whole studie should be to entyse the people to sinne. Not that we do muche feare that by your wordes ye can persuade any, except your own faction (and hardly those), to credit you in that behalf. For, all praise be to God, our lives, doctryne, and correction of vice, do witnesse the contrarie. But our greatest sorow is for your condemnation, which doubtles must ensue such wicked judgement, if hastely ye repent not.

To the 4. The Sunne is not blamed becaus the carion stinketh.

As the sunne is not to be blamed, albeit the carion by the heate thereof be more and more corrupted: so is not our doctrine, althogh that carnall men thereof take carnall libertie. For that, ye knowe, did ensue the doctrine of S. Paule.

We do no less affirme, both in worde and writing, then here you do affirme, to wit, that he who committeth sinne is of the Devil. But herein I suppose standeth the difference, that you and we understand not that phrase alike. We understand that the man commiteth sinne, whose whole studie, mynd, and purpose, from tyme to tyme, is bent upon iniquitie; and suche do we affirme to be of the Devil, who sinneth from the beginning. If you understand, that everie action committed against the law of God maketh a man the sonne of the Devil, we must

Rom. 6 To the 5. 1 Joa. 3. What it is to committ sinne.

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liberally speak that so we do not understand the mynd of the Apostle. For plaine it is that he meaneth not of actions particulare, be they never so grievous, whereof a man after repenteth, and from the same desisteth, but of a continual exercise, delite, and studie whiche man hath in sinne. And this is plaine, I say, by the wordes which immediately procede and go before, "He that exerciseth justice, (saieth he,) is just, even as He is just: he that committeth sinne, is of the Devil; for frome the beginning the Devil sinneth." Here is the exercise of justice put in contrarietie to the committing of sinne: an exercise we know requireth a continual studie and practise. I think ye will not say that one just worke maketh a man just, and so consequently the son of God, except he procede frome justice to justice. The meaning of the place alleged 1 John 3.

The same, say we, must be understand of the committing of sinne, for neither Adam nor David did any longer committ their former sinnes, when by grace they began to repent; and so did they not remaine unclean persons, nor in bondage of the Devil. Neither yet can it be proved, that ever they were membres of the Devil, nor of his kingdom, albeit willingly they made themselves slaves to him: whom Christ Jesus, notwithstanding, did vendicate to himself, and delyver from that thraldome; because, of the free gift of God his Father, they did appertein to his kingdom. Neither ever be you able to prove, by any of these sentences, that ever they were out of the Election, as before is declared. To the 5. To the 6.

The place of the Prophete Oseas is of you evill understand: the lacke of the Hebrew tongue may be the cause of your error. And albeit your great and perfect angell Castalio pretend great knowledge in that tongue, yet in that, as in many other places, a child may espie his negligence. Trewe it is, that in the Hebrew this word Adam is in that place; but if we shall understand that word wheresoever it is founde in the Scripture for the person of Adam our first father, we shall make a mad translation, and a sense more mad. Such as have but mean Oseas 6

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understanding in that tongue do know that that worde is often common for any man, as in the Prophetes is most evident.

How this worde Adam, in 6 chap. of Osea ought to be understand.

The veritie of the text is this, "They have transgressed the covenante; as the covenante of a man, they have rebelled against me," &c. God compleineth upon Ephraim and Juda, that they had no further respect, reverence, nor regard to that most excellent covenante and league whiche God had made with them, to wit, "that he wold be their God, and they should be his people." For God had preferred them to all nations of the earth, and had set them apart from others to serve and honor him in holynes of life, and to offer unto him rather spiritual then carnall sacrifice. But they served him at their pleasure; yea, and in that land which they had receaved of God's most liberal benediction, they did decline to idolatrie. For that he meaneth, where that he saieth, "There have they rebelled;" that is, where that they most ought to be obedient. This, I doubt not, shall everie man who diligently marketh the scope of the Prophete perceave to be his very meaning.

To the 7.

Otherwise and more sharply I might have answered your ignorance, who can see no difference betwixt Adam once sinning, and yet shortly after, by grace, called to a new and more sure league with God (whiche with all gladnes and thankfulnes he did receave), and the manifest contemners of God, which do nothing else but delyte in sinne; frome the whiche albeit that ten thousand tymes they be called, yet contemning all societie with God, their pleasure is to remaine in vanitie, and so finally in death. This difference, I say, ye ought to have observed, and then I doubt not but that ye wold have exempted Adam from the rancke of suche as contempteously crie, It is but labor lost to serve God. If diligently ye shall consider what is written in Job, and in Malachie, the third chapter, ye shall easely understand that the Prophete there devideth the whole multitude in these two sortes of men, to wit, in those that be proud, obstinate, contemners, and in them that feared the Lord, whom he calleth his "peculiare people," whom he promised

Job 21. Mala. 3.

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to "spare, as a man spareth his son that serveth him." And one of this last sorte understand we Adam to have bene all his daies, after his fall and reconciliation by grace. The Lord purge your heartes (if his good pleasure be) from that venom whiche so oft moveth you to spew furth your own shame, sometymes crying, that we [be] led with the spirit of Balaam, and now affirming, that we be careless Libertines. To which blasphemies, because I can neither answere without the sorow and grief of heart, neither without some offence of godlie eares, I will remit judgement to him, to whom as he hath frome the beginning opened thinges that for a tyme lay hid in darknes, so I dout not but that he will, yea, and that shortly, revele unto the world with what spirites both you and we be led. When more occasion shall be offered, I purpose, if so it please the mercie of my God to assist me, to notifie with what spirites you and your sect have bene led heretofore.

To the 8, 9, & 10.

Whatsoever ye gather of the wordes of the Apostle, it is altogither out of the purpose, for in none of all those places doth he define and determine what Adam and David were when they had sinned; but plainely he declareth what tryall ought everie man to take of himself when Christ Jesus is preached unto him, affirming that if any have not the Spirit of Christ Jesus that he is not of his. But the Spirit of Christ remaineth not in unclean and prophane persons, say you: but yet I affirme, that Adam and David ought not to be nombred in that band; for althogh they sinned, and that most horribly, yet did they not abyde in that estate. And albeit they were not led with the Spirit of Christ when they sinned, yet they were both led, drawen, and governed by his omnipotent Spirit, when they repented. And so can ye never be able to prove them to be reprobates, no, not even when they sinned, except that ye be able to prove that they finally perished in sinne. For this principall do I still hold, that true faith and true repentance (which the Reprobate never have) be the frutes of Election. The place of the Apostle, written in the 13th chapter of the Second Epistle

How Adam and David were never Reprobates.

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to the Corinthians, is neither well marked, nor rightly applied by you; neither yet will it suffer any suche conclusion as ye gather of it. The mynd of the Apostle is this: After the departing of Paule from Corinthus, where, after many stormes susteined, he had established the forme of a churche, did enter in fals Prophetes, whose chief studie was to elevate [emulate?] the auctoritie of Paule, and so to deface his whole labor, affirming that he was not worthie to be called an Apostle, for he was never in the companie of Christ; others were of greater estimation and favor then he was.

And as a multitude is ever more redie to receave poyson then wholsom medicine, a greate nomber began to give eare unto them, and so began litle to esteme whatsoever Paul had labored amongest them. Against which unthankfulnes, the Apostle very sharpely writeth, as in bothe his Epistles doth appeare. And amongest other his argumentes, which he useth to prove that he was an Apostle, nothing inferior to the greatest, he adduceth themselves for a testimonie, saying, "Trie yourselves if ye be in the faith; prove yourselves. Know ye not yourselves, that Jesus Christ is in you, except that ye be reprobates?" By these wordes, most sharp and most vehement, he laboreth to convict their conscience that he was an Apostle, and that the prooffe of his apostleship (as in another place he doth affirme) was declared in them. As he should say, Your fals Apostles affirme that I am not worthie of the name of an Apostle: but if the office of an Apostle be to preach Christ Jesus; and if the true signe that decerneth the true Apostle from the fals be, that Christ so potently worketh by his ministerie, that Christ Jesus taketh possession in the heartes of the hearers by the true preaching of his word; then be judges yourselves whether I be an Apostle or not. Call your conscience to examination in what estate I did find you. Were ye not drowned in all sortes of iniquitie? Did ye not walk in darkeness, without any true light of God? And in what estate did I leave you? Trie and examine yourselves in what estate ye do yet stand; you

2 Cor. 13.

The place of the 13. chap. 2 Corin. declared.

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can not be unsensible, you can not be so ignorant, but ye must know whether that Christ dwelleth in you or no. If you will acknowledge and confess that Christ dwelleth in you, then must ye nedes confess that I am an Apostle. For by my labors and preaching did you receave Christ Jesus; and if to deface my labors, and to defraud me of that honor which God of his mercie hath given unto me, ye list deny that either ye receaved Christ Jesus, either yet that he remaineth in you, then do ye confess yourselves reprobates.

Paul doth not absolutely define that they were reprobates, but putteth into their choise, whether they wold confess that Christ Jesus did remaine in them by faith, which they had receaved by the preaching of Paule, and so wold admitt him to be an Apostle; or to grant that they had nothing to do with Christ, and so to confes themselves reprobates. Now, let the indifferent reader judge, whether that either faithfully ye cyte the text, either that righteously ye conclude upon the same. The Apostle saieth not, Except that Christ dwell in you, you are reprobates; but saieth, as before I have alledged, "Do ye not know yourselves, that Christ Jesus is in you, except that in somewhat ye be reprobates?" And albeit that the wordes were such as ye recite, how can you therof conclude David and Adam were reprobates when they sinned, seing that Paule in that place maketh mencion of no other sinne, except of the denial of Christ, to remain in them; of their ingratitude towardes him, whom God had appointed preacher unto them; and of giving eare and credite to false apostles, sclanderers of Christes true messingers? How justly I might turn Paules wordes upon your heades, you easely may espie; but all such reasoning I do from my heart abhore. If ye can be able to prove that Adam refused the grace offered, or that David did storme against Nathan, either affirming or suspecting him to be a fals prophete, then had your argument some probabilitie; for onely of such, and to such, speaketh the Apostle in that place. Thus doth either your ignorance or malice, wresting the Scriptures against

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their native sense, compell me to trouble the Reader muche more then I wold, if any sinceritie were found in you.

To the 11. We do constantly affirme, that by the sinne of one man did death enter into the world. For Adam did not onely lose himself, but also did with himself wrap all his posteritie in sin, death, and damnation, so that Adam and all his sonnes were in him lost. But thereof it doth not follow (as ye affirme) that therefor they were out of the Election from the transgression unto the promise; for, as before we have plainely proved, they were Elected in Christ Jesus before the foundacions of the world were laid; in whom they did stand Elected and beloved even when they fell in Adam; at which time the Election, which from all eternitie was kept in the counsell of God, began to be notified and manifested to mannes knowledge. The fall and sinne of man was the way and meanes by the which God's Election did appere, but was not the cause why that it was destroied. And so, if with reverence ye coulde consider the mysterie of our redemption in Christ Jesus, ye shoulde plainely see that it behoved all to die in Adam, that the Elect might receave life in Christ Jesus alone.

It behoved all men to dye in Adam.

To the 12. John 3. The wordes of Christ Jesus our Master, rehearsed by the Evangelist S. John, ye do shamefully abuse: for in that place he intreateth not, whether a sinner, during the time of his blindnes and sinne, is appointed to damnation or not; neither yet whether such as before have had knowledge, as Adam and David had, be altogether void of faith by reason of sinne after committed; none of these two pointes, I say, doth our Master in that place intreat. But unto Nichodemus he plainely declareth, That the cause of life is faith, and the cause of condemnation is incredulitie and unbeleif. Not that Christ Jesus affirmeth that everie man that is unfaithfull at any time is or shalbe condemned. For God hath wrapped all under unbelief, that he may have mercie upon all; as S. Paul confesseth himself to have bene a persecuter and unfaithfull. But the true meaning of Christ is, that such as dispyse the light offered, and remaine

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in unbelief to the end, have their condemnation alredie appointed; as, contrary wise, whosoever with full obedience do steadfastly beleve the same, shall have the life everlasting, notwithstanding the manifest transgressions of the law.

The rest of this part is before answered, and therefor I will not with repetition trouble the Reader. For ye be never able to prove that Adam and David were so out of the love of God, that he did not love them in Christ his Sonne, in whom they were elected. David was no suche mankiller as was Cayn, of whom Saint John speaketh, who delited in blood to the end. Neither did Nathan shew, nor David pronounce any suche judgement against himself as ye imagine; but being convicted in his own conscience how horribly he had offended, he did heare notwithstanding that joyfull sentence: "The Lord hath taken away thy sinne, thow shalt not die," &c. Which sentence, no doubt, proceded from that immutable love which was reserved to him in Christ Jesus, even when he was fardest declined from God. It will be hard for you to prove by evident scriptures, that David was altogither void of faith; but granting that he, as concerning his own sense and feling, was utterly dead, yet doth it not thereof follow that so he displeased God that he fell from the love and favor of God as touching his Election. For the Apostle (upon whose wordes ye seeme to grounde your reason) meaneth not that the lack of faith in all persons, at all tymes, and in all respectes, doth so displease God, that he hateth them, and rejecteth them to death everlasting. For children for a tyme lacke faith, and yet Christ pronounceth that their angelles do see the face of his Father, and that the kingdom of heaven apperteineth to such. Thomas was unfaithfull even after Christes resurrection, and yet did he not so displease his Master, as before we heave touched, but that he did seke him, and did remove his incredulitie. And Christ Jesus did rebuke the unbelief of his Disciples, and the hardness of their heartes, but yet did he not utterly dispyse them. But now to the rest.

To the 13, 14, 15, & 16.

The lacke of faith in all persons doeth not so displease God, that he utterly rejecteth them.

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THE 29TH SECTION.

THE ADVERSARIE.

1. But if the Scriptures will not satisfie you, then must you be beaten with your own rod. For if I grante you that all men did not fall out of God's holie Election unto condemnation by Adam's transgression, it followeth therupon that the comming of Christ, his precious death and passion, is superfluous, vaine, and of none effecte. So by your pervers doctryne ye will infect Christians with the chief error wherewith the Jewes be deluded. That is, they esteme it a great madnes to say that Christ should suffer death for the offence committed by Adam; even so may I collect of your error. For what nedeth Christ to die for them, whom neither Adam's transgression, neither their own, could make them fall from God's Election? But now I will more largely dilate this argument. Election was afore the world, when there was no sinne; and the promise of Christ was made sithence the world was created, because of sinne; for had not sinne bene, we needed no new promise, being alredie just
2. and holie images of God. Now, if the Elect did not fall out of the Election by Adam's transgression, then nede they no Redemer, being alredie safe by reason of the Election, in which they were afore sinne, and remaine still in the same: because, as you say, the Elect neither did nor can fall out of the
3. Election. Then seing the Elect be safe and whole, they nede no phisition; neither came Christ to call the righteous, but sinners; wherfor the death of Christ, as concerning them, is in vain, they being safe alredie by Election. The like argument useth Paul to the Galathians, "If righteousness cometh by the law, then Christ died in vain;" if the Elect be still in the favor of God, what nede they of Christ to reconcile them to the Father, in whose favore they are alredie. Now, as touching the other sorte whom ye call Reprobates,
4. you say they can by no maner of meanes be saved, yea, and that Christ died not for them: then was Christes death altogither in vaine, for his death, you say, belongeth not to the Reprobate, and the Elect have no nede of it. Is not this godlie geare?

ANSWER.

To the 1 & 2. In dilating your argument, by the which ye go about to prove that Christes precious death was superfluous and vaine, if the Elect did not fall from their Election, this reason ye use: "Election was afore the world, when there was no sinne, and the promise of Christ was made sithence the world was created, because of sinne; for had not sinne bene, we needed no newe promise, being alredie just and holie images of God. Now, if the Elect (say you) did not fall out of the Election by Adam's

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transgression, then nede they no Redemer, being alredie save by reason of the Election, in the which they were afore sinne, and remaine still in the same," &c.

In this argument ye commit two fowle faultes. The first, ye take that for a thing true and confessed which is fals, and therefore by us alwaies denied. For thus ye reason: Man was Elected before the worlde was created; but man sinned after the world was created: *ergo*, man fell from his Election. We still denie the conclusion, and do affirme, that as we were Elected in Christ Jesus before all times, so did the Elect ever remaine in Christ; and therfore after that they had sinned, it behoved that the promise should be declared, that by the same the Elect might receave comfort, and be assured of their Election.

Your second fault more declareth your gross ignorance in the mysterie of our Redemption. For from Election ye streight waies leap to glorification and salvation, observing neither middes nor meanes which God's wisdome hath appointed and determined to go betwixt. Trew it is, God hath Elected in Christ to life everlasting his chosen children. But how? Saint Paul, yea, the whole Scriptures, wheresoever mention is made of our Election, joyneth therewith the death and blood of Christ. For none otherwise were we Elected in him, but that he should sustein the punishement for our transgression; and that we shoulde receave life, which we had lost in Adam and in ourselves, by the meanes of his death and resurrection. Therefore where ye reason, "If the Elect did not fall oute of the Election by Adam's transgression, then nede they no Redemer, being alredie saved by reason of their Election;" the conclusion is false, and the reason vaine. For the Elect have nede of a Redeemer, not because that they did fall out of Election, but by reason that they did fall from justice to sinne, and from obedience to dissobedience, and therefore nede they a Redemer, a phisition, and one to give them life; because that they being Elect in God's eternal counsel, are yet fallen into bondage, into mortal sickness and death by their own transgression. If ye

Why the Elect have nede of a Redeemer.

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can prove that the Elect did not sinne, and that they are not sicke, then might ye have concluded that they neded no Re-
To the 3. demer nor physition; and so ye might have proceded in your argument upon the wordes of the Apostle, saying, "That if righteousnes cometh by the law, then Christ died in vaine." But seing that all God's children are fallen into sinne, the bondage and miserie wherof they in this life continually fele, how justly ye may conclude, that because they remained in God's Election, and so consequently in his favour by Christ, that therefor they neded no Redemer, let the indifferent reader judge.

If it seme strange to you that God loved sinners in Christ, besides the places that are afore alledged for probation of that part, heare what the Veritie itself pronounceth: "So God loved the world, (saieth our Master,) that his onelie begotten Sonne hath he given." Whomsoever ye shall understand under the name of "the world," ye cannot seclude sinners from it. Where ye most unreverently ask, "What then nede they of Christ to reconcile them?" I answer, (with greater feare and reverence, then, alas! you declare,) Even such nede they have of Christ, as the bodie hath of the soule, or yet the living man of wholsome nuriture; yea, much more. For albeit the bodie have life by the meanes of meat and drink, yet have the Elect neither life nor reconciliation but by Christ Jesus; yea, and that by the meanes of his deathe and passion, by the which just payment and satisfaction is made to God's justice for their sinnes; and so are they reconciled, who by nature are the enemies to God.

To the 4. We do not denie but that Christes death is sufficient for to redeme the sinnes of the whole world; but because all do not receave it with faith, which is the free gift of God, given to the chosen children, therefor abyde the unfaithfull in just condemnation. God remitt unto you (if his good pleasure be) aswell your unreverent conclusion as your most unjust accusation, in which ye burden us that we will infect the Christianitie with the chief error with the which the Jewes are infected; who

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estemo it a great madnes to say that Christ should suffer death for the sinnes and offences committed by Adam. Assuredly, I do more then wonder that such impietie shalbe found in any creature indewed with reason; but I remitt judgement to God. Thus you procede.

THE ADVERSARIE.

THE 30TH SECTION.

The Apostle saieth, "God hath frome the beginning chosen you to salvation through sanctifying of the Spirit, and through beleving the trueth." Here we do learn that they which be chosen to salvation they be sanctified by the Spirit, and beleve the truth; and that such may fall, it appereth by that which is written in the Epistle to the Hebrues, "How much more suppose you shall he be punished which treadeth under fete the Sonne of God, and counteth the blood of the testament, wherewith he was sanctified, as an unholie thing, and doth dishonor the Spirit of grace?" Also, he exhorteth them not to cast away their confidence, and not to withdraw themselves unto damnation. He which withdraweth himself unto damnation, was afore in the state of salvation; as he that withdraweth himself unto salvation, was afore in the state of damnation. Of this change speaketh Paule to the Ephesians: "Remember that ye being in tymes past without Christ, being aliens and strangers from the testament of promes, having no hope, and being without God in this world; but now by the meanes of Christ Jesus, ye which somtyme were far of, are made nie by the bloode of Christ." And againe, "Now therefor ye are no strangers and foreiners, but citezens with the Sainctes of the household of God." 1. Hebr. 10. 2. 3.

Here doth Paule write to the Elect, whom he affirmeth in tymes past to have bene without Christ; and we are sure that without Christ there is no Election. He saieth also, that they were without the testament of promise; and all they which be Elect pertein to the promise: "But now (saieth he) ye be citezens with the saintes, and of the household of God." This is a change frome death unto life; frome the bondage of the Devil to libertie in Christ Jesus; frome the wrath of God to the favor and exceding love of God; frome the infernall prison to the heavenlie Jerusalem. Of the contrarie exchange and mutation it is written to the Hebrews, where it is declared, how they which "were once lightened, and had tasted of the heavenlie gifte, and were becom partakers of the Holie Ghost, and had tasted of the good will of God, and of the power of the world to come, that they may fall away, and crucifie the Sonne of God afreshe, and make a mock of him." I can not tell what can be more plainely spoken contrarie to you, which affirme that they which be once Elect can never fall out of the same Election unto condemnation. For if these wordes were not written in the Scriptures, if I or any other 4. Hebr. 6. 5. 6.

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should speak them, ye wold say they were fals, and we liars. And yet I am sure, rather then ye will submit yourselves to the trueth, ye had rather seke an narrow bore to crepe out at. What will ye say, if ye denie such one as receaved all these cheif benefites that any man can receave in this world; yea, no man can be participant of no greater giftes during this life; if ye
7. denie such one, I say, to be Elect, surely ye are of a perverse, reprobate mynd, forasmuch as ye plainely resist the Holie Ghost. Think you that God giveth these his chief talentes, which be such as no creature can receave any greater in this world; think you, I say, that God did bestow them meaning to receave no frute of them, but to bestow them in vaine? And if God did bestow them upon hym whom he reprobated afore the fundation of the world, whom
8. he knew that of necessitie he should perishe, then did he intend to bestowe them in vain; which is fals, forasmuch as the Holie Ghost willeth and exhorteth us not to receave the grace of God in vaine: we may, abusing his grace,
2 Cor. 6. receave it in vain, otherwise in vain did Paule exhort us not to receave the
2 Pet. 2. grace of God in vaine. Of suche doth also Peter speak, "That after they were cleane escaped frome the filthynes of the worlde, throughe the knowledge of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, are yet tangled againe therin and
9. overcome; whose latter end is worse then the beginning." And suche one is compared to a dogge which returneth to his own vomite againe, and to a sow which was washed and now returneth and walloweth in the mire. I pray you,
10. whether were these elected or reprobate of whom Peter speaketh? If you say reprobate, yet were they "clean escaped from the filthines of the world" through the knowledge of the truth, and had vomited their poyson, and were washed clean. If you say they were Elect, then marke how they be tangled againe, returned to their vomit, and to the filthie myre. But you will say, they can not yet finally perishe. Peter knew what he wold say, and therfore maketh you answere aforehand, saying, "Their latter end is worse than the beginning."
Jacob. 5. "Brethren (saith S. James), if any of you do erre frome the trueth, and another converte him, let the same know that he which converteth the sinner from going astray out of his way, shall save a soule from death." What be
11. they whom James saieth they do "erre from the trueth?" If ye say reprobate, consider how they be converted to the truth, and saved from death. If you say they be Elect, you see how that they (being in error) were ordeined to death, otherwise how can they be saved from death which nether be dead nor
2 Tim. 2. yet can die. Paul willeth Timothie to informe with all meeknes them which resist the trueth, if God at any tyme will give them repentance for to know the trueth, and that they may come to themselves againe out of the snare which
12. are holden captive of him at his will. If thou say, that these be Elect to whom Paule writeth, see you not how they be snared of the Devil, yea, and are holden captive of the Devil at his will. If you say, they be Reprobates, then marke well how they by repentance may escaip the snare of the Devil. But

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what should I speak of repentance? if your opinion be true, then the preaching of repentance is vaine. Forasmuche as the Elect can not finally perish, neither fall owt of the election and favor of God, what nede have they then of repentance? And the Reprobate can by no meanes attein unto salvation; for what purpose should they repent? Then this is no sounde doctrine which ye teach. "The Lord planted his vinyard, hedged it and walled it, and planted it with goodlie grapes." If they were goodlie grapes, and of a good roote, as we read in Jeremie, then were they no reprobates. For there the Lord witnesseth that there could no more be done for his vineyarde then he had done: then had he not preordinate them to destruction. "But (as he saieth) I made thee, O Israel, that thow might serve me." Yet became they reprobates and perished. By this we see that the Elect and chosen become reprobates through their noughtines and wickednes. "The Lord will be mercifull unto Jacob, and will yet chose Israel againe, and set them in their own land." Seing the Lord doth chose them againe, then were they fallen out of their former election. "When Israel was yong I loved him, and called my sonne out of the land of Egypt." Forasmuch as Israel was the sonne of God, and that also beloved, insomuch that the Lord led them with cordes of friendship and bondes of love, they must nedes be the Elect of God; yet because they provoked the Lord through their abominations, they are cast away, and the Lord rewardeth them according to their desertes. 13. Isa. 5 Jere. 2. Isa. 14.

Answer.

If I should labor to the end of this your most confused worke, to reduce everie scripture, by you wrested and abused, to the true meaning and understanding of the Holie Ghost, as hitherto I have done in the most parte of them which ye have alledged, my travale should be great, and the work should excede a just measure. Therefore, seeing that sufficiently, by the plaine Scriptures of God, I have confirmed the doctrine which we teach, beleve, and maintein; and by the same trueth of God's Worde I have confuted your error; from hencefurth I intend onely to touche the Proposition which ye maintein, and by confuting the same, briefly, either by Scripture or els by exemple, to shew in what sorte ye wrongfully apply the Scriptures to maintein your error; offering yet to satisfie, to my power, such as charitably shall ask of me, by word or writing, further explanation of any scripture by you alledged, and by me at this tyme not fully resolved.

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The Anabaptistes holde that the Elect may fall from their Election.

The chief Proposition which ye maintein to the end of this your book is, That the Elect may fall from their Election. To the which I answer, That if ye understand that those whom God the Father hath Elected in his eternall counsel to life everlasting in Christ Jesus, may so fall from their Election that finally they perish; if this (I say) be your understanding, then I feare not to affirme that proposition to be utterlie fals, erroneous, and damnable, as it doeth expressedly repugne to God's plaine Scriptures; for Christ Jesus doth affirme that so many as his Father hath given to him shall come unto him. And to such as do come, he promiseth life everlasting; which he hath in himself for the salvation of his flock, whereof none shal perish, for furth of his hands can none be pulled away.

John 6. John 10.

To the 1, 2, & 3.

But because this before is largely intreated, I come shortly to the scriptures which ye abuse.

2 The 2. Hebr. 10.

First, ye prove that those which be Elected be sanctified by the Spirit, and through beleving of the trueth; which we confesse to be most true. Thereafter ye alledge, that such as be sanctified may after dishonor the Spirit of grace, tredde doune the blood of the testament, and so drawe to damnation. I answer, The cause of your error is, that ye make no difference betwixt the sanctification and lively faith which is proper onelie to the sonnes of God, which once begonne is perpetuall, and that sanctification and faith which is common to the reprobate, and therefore it is but temporall.

If this distinction displeaseth you, quarel with the Holie Ghost and not with us, for of his plaine workes and wordes evident have we receaved it. For all Israel were sanctified to be the kinglie priesthode, all were circumcised, yea, and did drink of the spirituall drink, and yet were they not all inwardly sanctified unto salvation and life everlasting. The whole tribe of Levi were sanctified to the service of the Lord in his tabernacle, but how many of them did still remaine prophane persons the Scripture concealeth not. Even so all that great multitude whom Christ fed in the wilderness, yea, all those that

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adhered for a time to his doctrine, were after some maner sanctified, that is, seperated and devided from the rest of the world; but that sanctification was but temporall, like as also was their faith. We do not denie but that the reprobate have some maner of faith, and some sort of sanctification for a time; that is, that they are compelled even by the impire of the Spirit of God, to confesse and acknowledge that all thinges spoken in God's Scriptures are true; and that therefor their conscience, in a feare and terror, do seke some meanes to please God, for the avoiding of his vengeance. For as this is neither the true faith justifying, neither yet the perfect sanctification of the Spirit of God which reneweth the Elect in the inwarde man; so doth neither of both long continue: for they returning to their natural prophanation and darknes, do leave the waye of light and life, and drawe themselves to death and damnation. But hereof, without the contumelie of the Sonne of God, and without abnegation of his plaine veritie, ye can not conclude that the Elect membres of his bodie can be reft out of his hands; that those for whom solemnely he hath prayed that they shoulde be sanctified in the veritie, and that they should be one with him as he is one with his Father, may come to finall prophanation, and so to perdition. We feare not to affirm that to be a thing no less impossible, then that it is that Christ Jesus shall cease to be head of his Churche, and the saviour of his bodie.

It is impossible that Christe should lose any of the members of his bodie.

In the wordes of the Apostle, written in the second chapter to the Ephesians, ye seme not to understand his meaning, where he saith, "Ye were sometimes without Christ;" for, (saye you,) "We are sure that without Christ there is no Election." In which wordes, thow that writest playiest with the simple ignorant Reader the vile Sophister, confounding, by the Inglishe word "without," that whiche in Latine is moste evidently distincted. Doth Paule say, *Eratis aliquando extra Christum?* or saieth he not, *Eratis sine Christo?* To make the mater sensible to you, (my deare Brethren,) be you never so simple, where

To the 4, 5, & 6.

The Adversarie plaieth the foelish sophister.

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he saieth, "Without Christ there is no Election," that proposition is true, if it be understand that man was never Elected to life everlasting but in Christ Jesus onlie. But if he will affirme that none are Elected in Christ Jesus without Christ, that is to say, before that they come to the true and perfect knowledge of God's mercies in Christ, that proposition is most fals, and doth repugne (as plainely ye may see) to the mynde and wordes of the Apostle: for he affirmeth, that we were Elected in Christ Jesus before the fundation of the world was laid, yea, when we were dead by sinne, ignorant of him, strangers from the testament of his promise, which S. Paule calleth, to be "without Christ, without God in this world, and without the league of the testament." And by these wordes doth the Apostle magnifie the superaboundant mercies of God shewed to the world in Christ Jesus, by the which he receaved not onely the Jewes, who long had continued in league with God, but also the Gentiles, to the participation of his glorie, albeit that from the daies of Abraham they had lived as despised and rejected of God. Let the reader now judge how strongly ye conclude.

To the place of the Apostle touching the illumination of such as after utterly fall back, I have before answered. Ye unjustly accuse us, that we seke shiftes and narrow bores, to the end that we shall not be subject to the trueth. For this is our plaine confession, which we simply and boldly do affirme, that this is a stable and immutable foundation, "The Lord knoweth his own, that no creature is able to seperat his Elect frome his love, which in Christ Jesus he beareth to them."

Rom. 8.

To the 7, 8, 9, & 10.

Where boldly ye affirm us to be of a pervers and reprobate mynd, if we deny them to be Elect who have receaved from God such graces, as man in this life can receave no greater: It may seeme, that because ye delyte to speak what ye please, ye take libertie to lay to our charge whatsoever seemeth good to you.

I trust ye be never able to prove, that any of us hath affirmed

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that he who had receaved of the free gift of God a true unfeined and livelie faith, is not the Elect of God; and that faith, we knowe, do God's children, which cum to aige and discretion, receave in this life, as Peter did; against the which did Christ pronounce, "that the gates and portes of hell should not prevaile." But it appereth to me, that your doubt is either, to witt, Whether God bestoweth his great and riche talentes upon the reprobate? For if so He should do, ye affirme that he bestoweth them in vaine, meaning to receave no frute of them. That God bestoweth great talents upon the verie reprobate, the Scriptures manifestly do witnes; to speake nothing of life, reason, corporall health, richesse, and honors, which the reprobate in greatest abundance do possesse. Doth not Christ witnes, that many shall cry, "Lord, in thy name we have prophecied, we have cast out devils, and in thy name have we done many wonderous workes;" and yet shall Christ answer, "I never knew you." Doth not Paule affirme, that "albeit he knew all mysteries, had all prophecie, and knowledge, and all faith, (suche he meaneth as by the which miracles are wroght,) yet, without he had charitie, he were nothing."

But yet, I pray you, do prophecie, knowledge, the gift of tongues, and of miracles, cease to be the good and riche talents of God? Ye crie, Yet are they bestowed without hope of frute to be receaved, and in vaine, if they be bestowed upon the reprobate. That of you is boldly and most blasphemously affirmed, for God knoweth the frute which his Churche shall receave, not onely of those spiritual talentes, (how wicked that ever they be to whose dispensation they are committed,) but also of the corporall and temporall benefit; yea, of very tyranny doth his wisdome and goodnes cause a frute and commoditie come, and spring out to his Churche. By the tyranny of Nabuchadnezar, he punished the proude contemners, and tried and partly purged his children, who before were slothfull and negligent. By that great conquest and victorie whiche he gave to Cyrus, he procured the delyverance of his people from bondage.

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By the great abundance of victuales, given in the daies of Pharao, were Jacob and his children susteined. And think you, that without frute, and altogether in vaine, were these and the like benefites bestowed, althogh that the most part of these were idolaters, cruel murtherers, and reprobate, to whose custodie these talents were committed! Ye are too bolde thus to controle God, for his wisdome will not in all thinges be subject to your foolishnes.

The diversitie of creatures here beneath in earth may teach you more sobrietie. How many creatures, I pray you, appere to our judgement to be superfluous and vainly created, not onelie because they profitt not man, but because they are unprofitable to themselves? But shall we therfore accuse God's wisdom by whom they are created? God forbidde. For besides the omnipotencie of his power and wisdom manifested in their creation, he alone knoweth their use, profitt, and commoditie, which every creature receave of another, how dull so ever our senses be. And the same oght you to consider in all talentes and giftes committed to man, how wicked so ever they be to whom they are committed. For not onely therin is God's goodnes to be praised, which extendeth the self in some cases even to his enemies, but also some profitt doth ever arise to his Church by his graces, howsoever they be abused by the reprobat. The pregnant witt and subtill ingine of Julian the Apostate, served the Churche in steede of a spurre in his tyme, and caused the godlie learned more diligently to searche the Scriptures of God then before they had done. And the same doth your perverse iniquitie this day toward us, where ye say, "That it is fals that God did intend to bestow his talentes in vaine, forasmuch as the Holie Ghost willeth and exhorteth us not to receave the grace of God in vaine; yet notwithstanding God willeth not us to receave his grace in vaine, we may abusing his grace receave it in vaine, otherwise in vaine did Paule exhorte us not to receave his grace in vaine." These be your wordes, and this is your reason, which I leave to be judged upon

God's talents in the very Reprobate do profit God's Church.

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by the godlie reader; for we do not say that God bestoweth his giftes in vaine (albeit the reprobate be participant thereof), but it is you that affirm, that in vaine, and without frute, they are bestowed, except that all be Elect to life everlasting that receave them; which doctrine is so strange to us, that we doubt not to affirm, with the hasard of our lives, that by God's Scriptures it can not be mainteined.

The wordes of the Apostle in the place by you alledged, neither affirmeth what man may do, neither yet what he may not do; but he declareth how diligently and carefully, not onely by preaching, but also by exhortation and prayer, he travailed, that his labors myght be frutefull amongest them, and so that they should not receave the grace of God in vain. But admitting that he had said, "I commande you not to receave the grace of God in vaine," could ye thereof conclude any more then ye may do of these wordes, "Be you holie, for I am holie, saieth the Lord!" There is a precept geven, but in whom standeth power to perfourme the same? If it stand not in man, say you, in vain is the precept given. How you be able to prove that I remitt to your better advisement: to me is nothing vaine that God speaketh or commandeth; for I am assured, that either by God's will reveled are the Elect instructed how they oght to walke, or els are the Reprobate in their consciences convict, that knowing God's holie will, obstinatly they rebell against the same, and so are they witnesses to their own just damnation. 2 Cor. 6.

The place of Peter doth manifestly fight against you; for howsoever the dogge hath vomited the corruption of his stinking stomocke, and howsoever the sow hath appered to have been clensed, yet neither of both change theire owne nature. But the dogge remaineth the dogge, and therfor can do none other thing but to returne to his vomite; and the sow remaining the sow, must nedes returne to wallowe in the myre. But (say you) Peter affirmeth that they were verily escaped. I answer, As touching the trueth and nature of the doctrine which The place of the 2. chapter of Peter 2.

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they professed, so they were, for it was the very true knowledge of God which was offered unto them, and whiche apperantly they had receaved; in which if they had continued, they should verily have bene free frome all bondage, according to Christes promise. But becaus they were none of his chosen shepe nor peculiar flocke, they did decline from the holie commandement, and so were their last worse then their first, because that the servant knowing the will of the Master and not doing the same, is worthie many stripes. All this I know doth please you, except that I affirme that they were never of Christes chosen nomber, no not even when they professed most boldly, when they lived most streitly, and when most they appeared to have bene purged. I will not bynd you to beleve myne affirmation, except that I bring the witnessing of the Holie Ghost. S. John saieth, "They have passed out from us, (he speaketh of Antichristes,) but they were not of us: for if they had bene of us, of a trueth they should have remained with us," &c. These wordes nede no commentarie, for saieth he, "They have passed out frome us." And why? "Because they were not of us," no not even when they professed most earnestly, &c. Shut up your own eyes as ye list, this light shall ye never be able to obscure, much lesse to extinguish.

1 John 2.

To the 11, 12, & 13.
2 Timoth. 2.

The place of S. James, and of the Apostle Paule to Timothie, do teach not onely the ministers of the word, but also everie faithfull man, how carefully one should procure the salvation of another. And to make all men more diligent in doing their duetie, he declareth, in what extreme danger stand such as do erre from the trueth, or that remaine in bondage of Satan; as also, what acceptable service unto God do such as by whom God calleth others from the way of damnation.

That this is the simple meaning of both the Apostles, I trust everie godlie man that diligently will read the text shall confesse with me. Your foolish questions, demanding, Whether they were Elect or Reprobate of whom the Apostle speaketh? and your academical reasons, grounded upon your own fantasies, I

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omitt as unworthie to be answered. For the Apostle speaketh to no one particulare sort, but proposeth a common and general doctrine, for the ends which I have rehearsed before. And albeit ye feare not now to affirme, that the preaching of repentance is in vaine, if our opinion be true, the day shall come, when ye shall know, that neither was the sharp preaching of John, neither yet the glad tydinges and amiable voice of Christ Jesus, blowen to the worlde in vaine; albeit that the Scribes and Pharesies remained still the generation of vipers, and that they could neither feare nor beleve the promise of salvation, because they were not of God, but of the Devil, whose children they were.

The places of Isaiah and Jeremie I have before declared, and Isaiah 5. therefor in few wordes I will touche the purpose of the Holie Ghost, which was, not to instruct that people whom, when, or how many, God had Elected to life everlasting in Christ Jesus his Sonne, or whom for just causes he had Reprobated. But to convict them of their manifest and most unthankfull defection, and to take from them all excuses, both the Prophetes do declare how gently God had entreated them, yea, how beneficial he had bene to their fathers, whom he called from ignorance, whom he norished in his own knowledge, and at length planted and hedged them about with all munition and necessarie defence, so that now the children declining to idolatrie could have no excuse. For their fathers, Abraham, Isaak, Jacob, and David, whom he calleth the faithfull sede, gave unto them no such example. "But how (saieth he) art thow now changed, Jerem. 2. to be unto me a degenerate vineyard?" What maketh this, I praye you, for your purpose, or for to prove that these that be Elected in Christ Jesus to life everlasting may become reprobates? If I should answere, that the stocke which was planted faithfull remained faithfull, but that it produced many rotten and unfrutefull branches, which therefor must nedes be cut of, none of your sect were able to confute me, for I should have the Apostle for my warrant; but I delyte in nothing so

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muche as in the simple and native meaning of the Scriptures, as they be alledged in their own places by the Holie Ghost.

To the 14. The places of the Prophetes Isaiah and Hoseas have not both one end. For Isaiah, in the 14th chapter, doth promise in the person of God, that he wold shew mercie to Jacob, and that he wold choose Israel againe; yea, that he wold destroy Babylon for their saik, and so wold choose his people to himself againe, whom for a tyme he appered to have rejected, so that other lordes then he did beare rule over them. But

Hoseas 11. Hoseas in the contrarie sense affirmeth, that because they had abused the long pacience of God, and had not righteously considered how tenderly he had intreated them, that therefor should the sword rushe in into the citie, that it should destroy and devore, so that none should be found to releve them. This, I dout not, is the meaning of both the Prophetes. O! but you crie, here is mention made, "that God will choose his people againe;" therefor he had once rejected whom before he had chosen. I trust ye will not, that God's Majestie shalbe subject to perjurie for the establishement of your error. He had before solemnely sworn, not onely to Abraham but also to David, "That he wold for ever be the God of that people, and that of the frute of his loynes should one sitt upon his seate, and that for ever." If he had so rejected his people that no Election had remained, neither yet that he had made any difference betwixt them and the prophane nations before the comming of Christ Jesus, where was the stabilitie of this former promise? We know that the giftes and vocation of God are without repentance in himself, that he casteth not away such as he before knew to be his own, but that in the greatest extremitie his promise abideth stable, as in this people he most evidently declared. For he did not so disperse them, so reject them, and as it were in his anger cast them of, and give them over to the appetites of theire enemies, but that still he did knowe and avowe them to be his people, yea, even in their greatest calamitie. As in these wordes he doth witnes, saying,

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"When they shalbe in the land of theire ennemies I will not refuse them, neither yet will I dispyse them, so that I will utterly destroy them, or make my covenante with them to be of none effect, for I am the Lord their God; for then I shall remembre myne old covenant which I made with them when I led them furth of the land of Egypt, in the presence of the Gentiles, that I might be their God, I, the eternall."

And in the same Prophete, in many places mo, the same is most evident. For thus he writeth, foreseing their captivitie: "Yet now heare, O Jacob my servant, and Israel whom I have chosen, thus saieth the Lord that made thee, and formed thee from the wombe, he will help thee, Feare not, O Jacob my servant, (advert that yet he doth acknowledge Jacob to be his servant, even in his greatest miserie,) and thow righteous whom I have chosen: for I shall powre out waters upon the thirstie, and floodes upon the drie grounde: I shall powre furth my Spirit upon thy seede, and my blessing upon thy buddes." And in the same chapter, after that he hath reproved the vanitie of idolaters, he saieth, "Remember these, O Jacob and Israel; for thou art my servant; I have formed thee to this purpose that thou shouldest be my servant: O Israel, forget me not," &c. "For my name's saike will I differ my wrath, and for my praise will I refrein it from thee, that I cut thee not of," &c. "Lift up your eyes to the heavens, and beholde the earth beneth; for the heavens shall vanish away like smoke, and the earth shall wax olde like a garment, and they that dwell therein shall perish in like maner: but my salvation shalbe for ever, (he meaneth the deliverance which he had promised to that people,) and my righteousnes shall not be abolished," &c. "For a little whyle have I forsaken thee, but with great compassion shal I gather thee," &c. "And the sonnes of strangers shall buyld up thy walles, and their kinges shall serve thee: for in my wrath I smote thee, but in my mercie I had compassion on thee," &c. "For Zion's sake I will not hold my tongue, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, untill the righteousnes

Isaiah 44.

Isaiah 48.

Isaiah 51.

Isaiah 54.

Isaiah 60.

Isaiah 62.

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thereof breake furth as the light, and the salvation thereof
Isaiah 61. as a burning lamp," &c. "And their seede shalbe knowen amongest the Gentiles, and their buddes among the people: All that see them shall know them, that they are the seede which the Lord hath blessed."

These and many places mo, do manifestly witnesse that God did never, before the comming of Christ Jesus in the flesh, utterly reject and refuse that people, (as that they did not appertein unto him,) but that he did avowe them to be his chosen, his peculiar people, and his inheritance, even when they were in greatest miserie. Yea, further, God had continually of the sede of Abraham, during the tyme of the Law and the Prophetes, som nombre openly to glorifie his name in the eyes of the world. And therefore consider with yourself, how justly ye gather upon these wordes of the Prophete, "God shal yet againe choose Israel," that therefore God had utterly rejected all Israel, yea, even from the life everlasting. For except that so ye conclude, ye have proved nothing of your purpose, for the controversie standeth not betwixt us and you, whether that God doth somtymes choose and promote a man or a people to honor and dignitie in this life, and thereafter justly deprive him or them from the same, for this did we never denie.

But the whole controversie consisteth in this point, Whether that such as God, in his eternall counsel, hath Elected in Christ Jesus to life everlasting, can after be Reprobated, and so finally perish; and that shal ye never be able to prove. That the simple reader may the better understand the meaning of the Prophete, this I adde, The people in the captivitie of Babylon were so oppressed, and so destitute of all hope ever to be restored to any dignitie or libertie againe, that to them it appered alike possible to raise the dead carkases of such as were buried in their graves, as to deliver them from the handes of the proud and puissant Babylonians. And therefore doth not onlie Isaiah, who long afore saw their bondage, and the redemption from the same, but also Jeremiah and Ezechiel, who did

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see it with their eyes, with great boldnes and constancie affirme, that they shoulde be delivered from that bondage; that they should be maried with God; and so shoulde be chosen againe, as our Prophet here speaketh, which is not to be referred to the part of God, but to the apprehension of the people, who thoght themselves utterly forsaken and rejected of God. Against this temtation the Prophet saith, "God shall choose Israel againe," that is, shal restore them to the former dignitie, yea, to a greater. And that should He do in such sort, that they should know that he was God, merciful, constant, and immutable of his promes. And so the renovation of the league, in such sort that the worlde might see that God favored Israel, is called the New election and New mariage, not that God had ever in himself decreed and purposed that the Messias and blessed seede shoulde descend of any other nation, but of the seede of Abraham and house of David; but that the people, in the tyme of their affliction, had receaved such a wounde, by reason of their grievous plagues and former offences, that they thoght that God had utterly rejected them. Let the Prophetes be reade with indifferent judgement, and this, I doubte not, shall appere most true. Now to the rest of your Scriptures.

How God did choose Israel again.

THE ADVERSARIE.

THE 31ST SECTION.

Christ commandeth John to preache unto the seven Congregations, among whome were bothe Elect and Reprobate; to whom he useth no such maner of doctrine as ye teach, that the elect coulde not fall from their election; but warneth them to take hede that they lose not that which they had gotten, but labore to increase, threatning them with destruction if they forsake the grace whereof they were made partakers; neither discouraged he the most wicked of them, as ye do, saying, That by the preordinance of God, they of necessitie must perish, but willeth them to repent and amend, and they should live; yet knew he bothe who were Elect and who were Reprobate. To the congregation of Ephesus he saith, that she was fallen from her first love, and without she remembred from whence she was fallen, repented, and did her first workes, the Lord would shortly come and remove her candlestick out of her place. The congregation of Smirna he commandeth to be faithfull unto the death, and so shoulde she receave the crowne of life. If Christ had bene of

1.

2. Apocal. 2.

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3. your opinion, he had not used such maner of doctrine. In vaine shoulde he exhorte the Reprobate to be faithfull, whom he had cast away. And superfluous were it to exhort the Elect, whom he knew to be predestinate so that they
4. coulde not fall. In the congregation of Pergamus were two most detestable sectes, that is, Balaamites and Nicholaitains, whom the Lord did hate; then were they not beloved, and so consequently were they not elect after your opinion, yet willeth he them to be converted, and to receave a new name
5. written in white stone. In the congregation of Thiatyra was the fals pro-
2 Pet. 3. phetesse Jesabell to whom he gave space to repent, "and (as Peter snieth), the long-suffering of the Lord is salvation;" then might she have repented; notwithstanding she did not repent, then was she reprobate; likewise unto them which committed fornication with her, that is idolatrie, is repentance granted.
Apo. 3. 6. The congregation of Sardis, though in name she did live, yet in deede she was dead; and that of her which was yet alive was in danger of death. Wherefore he willeth her to call to remembrance what she had heard, and what
Apoc. 7. grace she had receaved, and to repent her of her imperfect works, and watch, lest the Lord shoulde like a thief come upon her unawares. If the congregation of Sardis was Elect, then in vaine doth the Lord threaten her after your opinion; and if she was Reprobate, what availeth it to watche and repente?
7. The congregation of Philadelphia he commandeth to hold fast that which she
2 Pet. 3. hath, that no man take away her crowne, (as Peter saith, "Beware lest ye, with other men, be also plucked away through the error of the wicked, and fall from your owne steadfastnes);" what shoulde they feare the losse of that
8. which (as you say) they can not lose? The congregation of Laodicia, which was neither hote nor colde, but wretched, miserable, and poore, and blynd, and naked; if ye say it was Elect, yet the Lord threatned it that he wolde spew it out of his mouth. If you say that they were Reprobate, yet might they bene saved, growe fervent, and repent. And where they were poore, they might have boght of Christ tried gold in the fier to make them rich; and where they were naked, they might be clothed with whyte rayment of righteousness, to cover their filthie nakednes; moreover they might have gotten the salve of true knowledge, by the Spirit of God, to anoint their blynd eyes.
9. Here we see, how that there is none of these congregations so elect but they might fall, and therefore have need of exhortations to be constant unto the ende, lest perchance, as Paul, the elect vessel of God, feareth him self, they
10. shoulde become cast-aways and reprobates: and againe, there be none so reprobate but they be here comforted, space of repentance granted them to
11. turne from their wickednes and live. So wolde I exhort you to repent and turne from your errors, and to seek for this salve of true knowledge to anoint your blynd ignorant eyes, that ye might perceave how ye be partakers of all the salves which were found among the seven Congregations, by that ye are infected with this poisoned error of mere Necessitie and stoicall Destinie, more

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then they. God grant that ye may be also partakers of the mercie and grace offered to the said Congregations! First, ye participate with the congregation of Ephesus, in that there is of you which call themselves Apostles, and are liers. With the congregation of Smirna, in that there be among you which call themselves Jewes, that is, spirituall Israelites, and are of the congregation of Sathan. With the congregation of Pergamus, in that Sathan dwelleth among you, and ye are become persecuters of Antipas, that is, of the faithfull; and in that ye mainteine the doctryn of Balaam, giving the people occasion of sinne. 12. With the congregation of Thiatira, in that ye have the spirit of the prophetesse Jesabell, teaching a careless and libertine life. With the congregation of Sardis, in that ye have a name that ye live, and yet are dead; and in that your workes are not perfect, for ye teache that by no meanes can they be perfect in this worlde. With the congregation of Philadelphia, in that, as is aforesaid, 13. ye are become the congregation of Sathan, whereas ye would be estemed faithfull Jewes of Christes congregation. With the congregation of Laodicia, in that ye are wretched, miserable, blynd, naked, and neither hote nor colde; for ye, thogh ye exhort your disciples to do well, yet to pull all earnest fer- 14. ventness from them, ye say ye can never atteine to any perfection during this world. Take hede, therefore, that Christ spew you not out of his mouth. "Behold I stand, saieth the Lord, at the door, and knocke: if any man heare my voice, and open the doore, I will come into him, and will suppe with him, and he with me." Open the doore in time, refuse him not which calleth by his voice. And so you shall be certein of your election: but if you shut your doore and refuse him which calleth, and if you do not obey his voice, then are ye castawayes without ye repent in time. Thus it becometh us all to talke reverently 15. of God's election, so far onely as we fele by experience the Spirit of God worke in us, so that when we fele the Spirit of God increase in us, we may be assured that we are in his favor, but when we be led away from one vice to another, as David was in abusing Bearseba and killing Urias, let us not presume then to be beloved of Him which hated all workes of iniquitie.

ANSWER.

When I did first read this your blasphemous rayling, I did wonder to what purpose ye wolde rehearse the advertisementes, admonitions, and exhortations given to the seven Churches in Asia, and unto all other churches in their names and conditions, seing that nothing in the same can serve your purpose; yea, altogether the Holie Ghost through that whole worke doth manifestly fight against your pestilent errors; and therefore, I say, at the first sight I did wonder to what purpose

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ye wolde travail where ye were assured to lose your labor. But when I came to your conclusion, which ye make in manner of exhortation to us, I did perceave, that easie it is to fynd a staf (as the proverbe saith) to beat the dogge which man wolde have killed.

To the 1. But to the matter. Ye boldely affirme (howsoever ye be able to prove) that the Apostle useth no such maner of doctrine as we teache, &c. If ye understand that because he teacheth not in those seven Epistles, or Letters, in expresse and plaine wordes, that from the beginning some be elected to life everlasting, and others be reprobate, that therefore he teacheth it in no place; ye are not ignorant of the answer, and therefore I omitt it. But I aske, if you do not think that the Apostle doth not dedicat this his whole worke to those seven Congregations, so doeth him self witnes, (as in the first chapter is evident,) then what so ever is conteined in this whole vision apperteineth to the instruction, exhortation, admonition, comfort, and before advertisement of those Congregations, no less then that which is conteined in these words by you rehearsed. Then let us heare what is written and spoken by him in this mater:

Quid valet locus ex parte negans.

Apoc. 7. "I sawe (saith he) foure angelles standing upon the foure corners of the earth, holding the foure windes of the earth, that the windes should not blow upon the earth," &c. "And I saw another angell ascending from the uprising of the sonne," &c. "And he cryed with a loude voice to the foure angelles, to whom power was given to hurt the earth and the sea, saying, Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, neither yet the trees, until we have sealled the servantes of our God in their foreheades." I pray you, why were these, who were to be marked in the foreheades, more called the servantes of God by the voice of the angell then others? I knowe you will answer, Because of their good workes and godlie intentions. But from whence, I praie you, did it procede, that the workes and intention of the one sort were good, and of the other wicked? If you say, From their own free will and power, the Holie Ghost doth prove you

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liers, as before I have declared, and our Apostle assigneth also another cause, saying, "And power was given to the beast upon all tribes, tongues, and nations: And all those that dwelt upon the earth did worship him, whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lambe who was killed from the beginning of the worlde." Apocal. 13.

Here it is plaine that our Apostle, against your affirmation, teacheth that some do worship the beast, and so do finally perish; and other do not worship him, and attein to life; and that because the names of the one are written in the booke of life, and the names of the others are not written, and that more plainely he speaketh in these wordes: "Then I loked, and lo, a Lambe standing on the mount Zion, and with him a hundreth fortie and foure thousand, having his Father's name written in their forehedes," &c. "And they sang as it were a newe songe before the throne, and before the foure beastes, and the elders: and none coulde learne the song except those hundreth fortie and foure thousand, which were boght from the earth," &c. And after in the xvii. chapter is mencioned of these inhabitantes of the earth, who shall "wonder upon the beast, whose names are not written in the book of life from the creation of the worlde." If in these places, I say, the Apostle maketh no difference betwixt one sort of men and an other, let the reader judge; if there be difference betwixt boght and not boght, written in the book of life and not written, to learn the newe song and not to learne the same, then no dowt our Apostle putteth as plaine a difference as we do; yea, the whole scope of his Revelation is to declare, that there is a nomber of the elect called the spouse of the Lambe, whom it behoveth to be complete before the consummation of all things come, and before that the innocent blood that hath been shed be revenged upon those that dwell upon the earth; and therefore advise with your selves how ye be able to prove that St John taught no such doctrine as we teach. But admitting that he had never spoken neither yet of any nomber chosen, that can not Apocal. 14. Apocal. 17.

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fall utterly from their election, neither yet of any nomber reprobate, who must nedes be apprehended with the beast, and with him be cast into the lake of fyre: Is it therefore a good argument, that all those that teach such maner of doctryne be fals teachers? or that no such doctryne is conteined in the holie Scriptures? I will make the like reason: Neither Moises, neither John the Baptist in any expressed words, have left to us written, that Christ Jesus shoulde be born of a virgin, that he shoulde suffer in Jerusalem, that his disciples should all be sclandered and flee from him, that he shoulde rise againe, and ascending into the heaven, shoulde send the Holie Ghost visibly upon his Apostles; neither Moises, I say, neither yet John, who were excellent teachers, have taught in expressed wordes any such doctrine: *ergo*, the teachers of it be fals teachers, and it is not written in God's Scriptures. Your argument is no better, admitting that the Apostle had never made mention of any sort elected.

To the 2, 3, 4, 5. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

But now, shortly to answer to all which without purpose ye heape together in this place; I say, first, Ye ought to have made a difference betwixt those seven congregations where Christ Jesus had bene preached and receaved, and the rest of the worlde, which then remained, or after was to remain, in blindnes and error; for to those that have by publicke profession receaved Christ Jesus, be they elect, or be they reprobate, do appertein exhortations, threatening, the doctrine of repentance, consolation, prophecying, and revelation of things to come; but to those that yet remaine manifest enemies of the trueth, apperteine onelie the common calling to embrace the trueth, with the threatning of destruction if they continue unfaithfull. And therefore because these former Congregations (as said is) had professed themselves to be of God's householde, they were intreated as his domesticall servantes.

How exhortation, threatnings, consolations, and the doctrine of repentance ought to be used.

If any aske the cause, Why are some so amiably, and others so strangely intreated? I answer, No other cause can be assigned, but that it pleased God's infinit wisdome and goodnes to make

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that plaine and evident difference betwixt those that once be receaved in his household (to it externall profession onely) and those that remaine in blindness; that the one he commonly doth visit, but the other he doth as it were neglect and destroy. For what other cause can we assigne, that God so lovingly did often call to repentance the people of Israel, so often offending from the daies of Moises unto the coming of Christ Jesus, that he sent unto them Prophetes to exhort, to rebuke, and to declare the estate of things to come; and in this mean ceason, the space of two thousand yeres, permitted the Gentiles to walk in their own waies? And now, after the rejection of the Jewes, what cause can we assigne, that among us Gentiles, God useth to stirre up now one countrie, now an other, to receave the trueth, to detect and abhorre our former superstition, idolatrie, and wickednes; and of so long continuance hath left bothe the Jewes and Turkes drowned still in their blindnes and damnable errors? We shall find none other cause, I suppose, then did the Apostle see when that he said, "To God are knowen Act. 15. all his workes, even from the beginning, and that he will reveal his secretes to such as please him." Ye do not heare in all this revelation of John, that Babylon is exhorted to repentance, that the blasphemous beast is rebuked either of his tyranny, either of his blasphemie, with any promise made to him, that if he will convert, he shall be received to mercie and favor. No, the sentence irrevocable is pronounced by the Angell, that he shall come to destruction.

But Ephesus, Smyrna, Theatira, and the rest of the congregations, which before had professed Christ Jesus, and yet were become not manifest ennemies, but were fallen some in decay of life, some in corruption of manners, and some in heresies, were exhorted to returne, to repent, and to be fervent, to continue, with sharp threatning if they did the contrarie. And why this? because that God before had planted among them his trueth, which yet utterly they had not refused, and therefore doth he honour them as his domesticall servantes; but in vaine

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An objection of the Anabaptists.

(say you,) for if they be of the elect, they cannot perish; if they be of the reprobate sorte, they can not be saved. This is of you unreverently reasoned; will ye not suffer God to order his houshold as best pleaseth his wisdom? This order hath he appointed, that the trompet of his worde to exhort, to rebuke, to encourage, to offer mercie to the penitent, and to threaten death to such as do declyne, shall clerely sound in his Church, so long as he doth acknowledge it to be his. Not that by the word preached, he that was reprobate in God's eternall counsel may be the elect, and so changed; but that the worde preached, and often repeted, maketh a difference betwixt the Elect and the Reprobate, even before man.

Albeit to you it appere superfluous that God shall feede his children by his own Word, which because the reprobate do refuse, therefore do they beare a testimonie of their owne just condemnation in their owne conscience; albeit, I say, this appeare superfluous, yet God hath commanded and established the same, as a thing most necessarie and expedient for the establishing of his children, and for the manifestation of his owne glorie.

As bread is necessary to the bodie, so is God's Worde to the soule

I wonder that ye will not affirme, that superfluous it is for a man to till and manure the ground, to prepare for victuales, to eat and drinke, and to do such other things as be necessarie for the conservation of the life corporall, seeing that God hath appointed the daies of man which he cannot excede, and also that our heavenlie Father wil provide for his children, seeing he provideth for the birds of the ayre. Assuredly the one ye may conclude aswel as the other. But herein, I saie, appereth your foolish blyndnes: First, that ye make no difference betwixt the houshold servantes, and those that be without; and secondarely, that ye understand not the use, the profit, and the effect of God's word preached. Is not the kingdom of heaven compared to a nett casten into the sea, gathering together all sortes of fishes! whereof albeit that the separation can not perfectly be made till the nett be drawen to the drie land

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upon the last day, yet daily by the Worde, by exhortacion, by rebuking and threatning, do many things come to light, which before lay hid. How many do follow Christ for a time, and fall back from him, albeit that to the end he cryeth that they shoulde continue. St Paul affirmeth, that he did write his sharpe epistle to the Corinthians for a trial of them, if they wolde in all things be obedient; if they as true sheepe wolde heare the voice of their true pastor, acknowledge, and follow it; which he witnesseth that they did: and therefore he saith, "Now do I rejoyce, not that ye did sorowe; but that ye did sorowe to repentance." By the which was not onely the Apostle comforted, as he himself doth confess, but also were they newly confirmed, that the Spirit of God was not utterly extinguished before. And so albeit, ye can see no frute nor necessitie of God's worde preached, except that the nature of the reprobate be changed, yet do God's children fele in experience, how comfortable it is to have their dull spirites stirred up by frequent exhortacions; yea, how necessarie it is, that their dulness and unthankfulness be sharply rebuked.

1 Cor. 2.

2 Cor. 7.

The elect have great profit by the preaching of God's Worde.

The third thing in which I perceave you horribly to erre, in all this youre long discourse of the Seven Churches, is, that wheresoever there is precept or commandment given to repent, and to continue in faith, or to live a godlie life; or wheresoever mention is made that space and time is granted to repent, there streight waies ye conclude; Then may men kepe the commandements; then may they repent, and so be saved, althogh before they were reprobate. For this ye affirme of Jesabel: "She might (say you) have repented and have been saved; and likewise unto them that committed fornication with her is repentance granted." But how vaine is this conclusion: God commandeth that which is righteous; *ergo*, Man may do all that is commanded. God giveth place of repentance to all men; *ergo*, All men do, or may repent. How vaine, I say, be these conclusions, such as be not infected with the pestilent opinion of their own power, free-will, and justice, may easely

How the Adversaries abuse God's Word in making fals conclusions upon many places thereof.

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espie. When ye have proved, that God commandeth nothing which man may not do by his own power, free-will, and strength, and that repentance so procedeth from man, that in himself it lieth either to repent or not to repent; then may ye sing this song, which so oft ye repete, God commandeth, God giveth space of repentance, God offereth mercie to all: *ergo*, Of their own power they may repent. But, and if we be not sufficient of our own selves to think one good thought, if repentance be the free gift of God, and if to receave mercie procedeth of his own free gift also, then harp so long as ye list upon that one string, I will answer, that except ye make it better aggre with God's Scriptures, I must nedes say, that he is worthie to be mocked that continually harpeth upon a discording string.

To the 11, 12, 13, 14, & 15

As we do not contemne your exhortacion, if we coulde be persuaded that it did procede from the spirit of lenitie, so can we not acknowledge ourselves to be infected with the poysoned error of mere Necessitie and Stoicall destinie; neither yet that we teache a careless and libertine life; neither that we give occasion of sinne to the people. Finally, that we can not confes that we teache and mainteine idolatrie (as most unjustly ye accuse us), without any further probation; for that any such crymes reigne and are permitted amongest us without punishement, ye be never able to prove. We do not denie, but that among us have bene men infected with all crimes which ye lay to our charge. For some of you were once of our nomber, so far as man coulde judge; but as you have made yourselves manifest, so have others also. But yet, it semeth far repugnant to equitie and charitie, that the treason of Judas should be laid to the charge of the faithfull Apostles. If I list to take my pleasure in examining your lives, and applying the offences of those churches to your faction, I doubt not to bring better testimonie for my affirmations then ye have broght against us. But that I omit to better opportunitie, willing you, in the mean season, to remembre, that he which speaketh alwaie what he listeth, is compelled some tymes to heare that which he wolde

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not. At one worde, to answer to your sclanderous and malicious accusations, we appele from your sentence unto Him whose trueth we maintein; not that we feare but that with your confusion we coulde reject your vennom in your own stomockes again, but that we are determined not to contend with you in dispitefull railing and unjust accusations, which is your purpose in this whole Book, in which ye thus procede.

The Adversarie.

The 33d Section.

Often times ye use this saying, God's Election was afore the fundacion of the worlde without any condicion; wherefore, they which are Elect, they be elect without any condicion by the immutable decree of God's goodnes, so that they can never fall out of the said Election, otherwise God's Election were not certeyne. To the which I answer, That God's holie Election is, without any condicion, sure and certeine in Christ Jesus, without whome there is neither election nor salvacion. Further, man is made sure in the Election by the promise of God in Christ Jesus; of which promise, when he is made partaker, he entereth in covenant with God; but when he breaketh the covenant he forsaketh the promise, and when he forsaketh the promise he refuseth Christ, in refusing Christ he falleth out of the election; notwithstanding the election abideth sure in Christ. Election hath no promise without faith; true faith is God's worke by his grace, and is also partly man's work by consenting thereto; wherfore Paul calleth the righteous joint workers with God, because they worke together with him. Now, if man, for his parte, according to his nature, be inconstant in his faith, then is he out of promise, wherby he was made sure of his election; yet God's election remaineth sure and stable in Christ Jesus. Adam, and all men in him, before the transgression, might fall from God by sinne, notwithstanding the election. Why may not then the most righteous of us all fall now by sinne from the election? Is our election surer now, after transgression, then it was afore transgression? The Holy Ghost saieth, "Yet Cain went away in his wrath from wisdom;" but a man can not go awaye from that which he neither hathe nor can have. Further, God gave him warning afore, whiche was sufficient to withdrawe him from his evill intention. To Cain, said the Lord, "Why art thow wrothe, and why is thy countenance abated? If thow do well, shall there not be a promotion? And if thou doest not well, lyeth not thy sinne in the dores? Unto thee also perteineth the lust thereof, and thow shalt have dominion over it." If Cain was a Reprobate afore the fundacion of the world, then had he no dominion over his lustes, to choose the good and leave the bad, for then might he have lived: yet God saieth, "Thow shalt have dominion over it;" wherfore it is

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

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plaine that Cain was no Reprobate when the Lord spake these wordes to him.
6. Further, if God gave not Cain dominion and power to subdue his lust, who was then the author of his sinne? Whether is the sworde whiche killethe, having no power over itself, more to be blamed, or he whiche hath it in his hand? If God gave not Cain power to overcome his lust, and grace wherby
7. he might be saved, who is the cause of his damnation? "God is faithful (saieth Paul), which shall not suffer you to be tempted above your strength, but shall in the middest of temptation make a way that ye may be able to beare." Likewise did God with Cain in his temptation, warning, "That if he did well he shoulde be rewarded, if he did evill he should be punished." For there incoraging to do well, and that he should not faint, God shewed him how he should have dominion over his lust to rule it. This, notwithstanding he went away in wrathe from wisdom, and forsoke the counsell of God whiche
8. mercifully called him to life. After the floode, Ham was blessed of God, as his father Noah, and his brethren Sem and Japhet, and with the same blessing wherewith they were blessed; yet fell he from righteousnes, rejoysing in evill; and then, lo, became he accursed, and not afore. But all Reprobates be under the wrath and curse of God. So Ham, when he was blessed of God, he was not Reprobate, for then should he have bene both blessed and cursed,
9. loved and hated, all at once. The Israelites which were delivered from the oppression of the Egyptians, were chosen and called of God, to go and possesse the land of Canaan under the conduct of Moises. Yet neither Moses for his offence, neither any of them because of their inobedience, obteined that whereunto they were ordeined and chosen of God, except two persons, Josua
10. and Caleb. Moreover, the same Israelites were in God's holie election, and called of God from their sinnes, and chosen in Christ to life and health, as
1 Cor. 10. Paule witnesseth, saing, "Oure fathers were all under the cloude, and all passed throughe the sea, and were all baptized under Moises in the cloude, and in the sea, and did all eat of one spirituall meat, and did all drink of one maner of spirituall drink; and they drank of that spirituall rocke that fol-
11. lowed them, which Rock was Christ." Behold how Paule so often rehearsed this word, all to declare their choosing and calling to be general; "Yet there after (saieth he) in many of them had God no delite, for by sinne they fell from Christe and out of their Election, and so perished." And there doth also Paule teache us "how these things chanced them for examples, to put us in remembrance that we do not likewise by sinne fall from that wherunto we
12. are chosen and called of God. Let him therefore which thinketh he standeth take hede lest he fall." But you say, that he which standeth may well stomble, but he can not fall. Wherfore your doctryne being contrarie to the say-
13. ing of the Holie Ghost, must be fals. As for them which ye say were Reprobates before the world, in vaine should they take hede of any fall, seing afore they were, they had so sore a falle that they could never ryse againe; and so

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deepe a fall, even to damnation, that they can fall no further. Balaam was 14.
filled with the Spirit of God, the spirit of trouth, the spirit of power, and the
spirit of grace so largely, that whomsoever he blessed, he was blessed, and
whomsoever he curssed, he was cursed; but the blessing of the ungodly Re- 15.
probate is verie cursing, so that whomsoever they curse, God blesseth, and
whosoever they blesse, God curseth. Wherfor Balaam, during the tyme that
he himself was so blessed of God, he was no reprobate, but the chosen of God,
and might have continued in the grace and favor of God. And thereto was he
exhorted of God, saying, "Go not thow with them, neither curse the people,
for they are blessed." Where that it is to be noted that this people was blessed,
and notwithstanding by idolatrie and carnall lustes they fell frome the favor
of God; and instede of blessing, God's curse fell on them, as it appereth in
Numbers. Likewise, Balaam through covetousnes, loving filthie rewarde and 16.
continuyng in sinne, he fell from righteousnes and forsook the trueth, and
perished with the cursed ungodlie. Saul and his house was elect, and chosen 17.
of God to be king and rewlers over Israel, and that for ever; as Samuel wit-
nesseth, saying, "At this tyme wold the Lord have established thy kingdom
upon Israel, but now thy kingdom shall not continue." Here you see how
Saul, the elect anointed of God, doth fall from that whereunto God had chosen
and ordained him. And therafter, in the fifteenth chapter, "Because thow 18.
hast cast away the word of the Lord, therefor hath the Lord cast away thee
also from being king." Wherof we learn, that Saules fall was not by the
fore ordinance of God, seing he ordeyned the contrarie, but through his in-
obedience to God's word, wherunto he might have obeyed if he wold. Salo- 19.
mon receaved grace and wisedome of God above all other, which was a lyvelie
figure of Christ, of whom God saieth so: "Salomon I have chosen to be my
sonne, and I will be his Father: I will establish his kingdome for ever."
Yet did he fall from this grace, and wroght wickednes in the sight of the
Lord, lusting after strange fleshe, and committing idolatrie; and whereas
God choose him to be his sonne, he turned his heart from God, and followed
Asteroth, the god of the Sidons, and Melcom, the abomination of the Amon-
ites.[1] He buylded an hie place for Chamos,[2] the abomination of Moab, and
unto Moloch, the abomination of the children of Ammon, and lykewise for all
his outlandish wyves, which were a greate nomber, that brent incense, and
offered unto their goddes. Here have we a notable example of Salomon, the 20.
elect sonne of God, whose kingdom God had promised to establish for ever.
Yet he became the childe of the Devil, turnyng his heart from God, and giv-
ing himself over to the lustes of the flesh and most vile abominable idolatrie.
Jeroboam was chosen of God, and anointed by the Prophete Ahia king over 21.
the ten tribes of Israell; to whom God made a covenant that he wold be with

[1] "Aahtoreth, the goddess of the Zidonians, and Milcom."—(1 Kings xi. 5.)
[2] "Chemosh."—(Ib. ver. 7.)

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him, and buyld him a sure house, that should continue even as he had promised afore to his servant David, a man after God's own heart. Yet did Jeroboam, notwithstanding the election and fore-ordinance of God, fall from the favor of God; set up two golden calves, one in Bethel and the other in Dan, and made Israel sinne against God, to his own and their utter subver-
22. sion. Judas was Elect of God to be the salt of the earth, not unsaverie, for that serveth for nothing; but he became unsaverie salt throgh his own wickednes. Christ chose him to be the light of the world, which should so shyne before all men, that they might glorifie by him God the Father; but because he loved darkness better then light, his candlestick was removed and his light quenched. Christ chose him to be one of the twelve, which shuld sit on the twelve seates judgeing the twelve Tribes of Israel; but because he made not his election and calling sure by good workes, as Peter speaketh, his name was wiped out of the book of life. Christ loseth none of them whom the Father gave him except Judas, whiche by transgression (as Peter saieth) did fall, and was found unworthie of his election. Here might the terrible and grevous fall of Joas, with divers others, be alledged, which for prolixitie I passe over. All these above reheresed, and many mo, receaved the grace of God in vaine. And therefor did God cast them away, whom afore he had chosen,
2 King 23. even as he did Jerusalem, of whom it is so written, "I will cast off this city of Jerusalem which I have chosen, and the house of whiche I said my name
23. shall be there." For thogh God of his mere mercie has chosen us in Christ Jesus to be heires of eternall life, yet if we refuse him, he will refuse us; and
Jerem. 2. if we denie him, he wil denie us. And so as the Prophete saieth, "Our own wickednees shall reprove us, and our turning away shall condemn us." And
Ezec. 18. therefor saieth the Lord by his Prophete Ezechiel, "If the righteous turn away from his righteousnes and do iniquitie, all the righteousnes that he hath done shall not be thought upon; but in the fault that he hath offended withall, and in the sinne that he hath done, he shall die."

ANSWER.

To the 1. The same Proposition, whiche before I have proved most fals and deceavable, ye yet labor, by multiplying of examples nothing apperteining to that purpose, to defend and mainteine.

Your Proposition is, That albeit the Election is sure, and made without all condition in Christ Jesus, yet is there none so elected in him to life everlasting but that he may fall to perdition, and become a reprobate. And for the probation hereof, before ye enter to your exemples, ye use two reasones: The former, without Christe (say you) there is neither election nor

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salvation; and this we confesse and most stedfastly do beleve, adding, that election and salvation are so sure in him, that so many as be Elected in him to life everlasting, shal by grace attein to the same. Ye procede in your reason: "Further, man is made sure in the Election by the promise of God in Christ Jesus; of which promise, when he is made partaker, he entreth in covenant with God; but when he breaketh the covenant he forsaketh the promise, and when he forsaketh the promise he refuseth Christ; in refusing Christ he falleth out of the Election; notwithstanding the Election abydeth sure in Christ." This is your first reason. To the which I shortly and plainely answere, That because ye suppose an impossibilitie to be possible, therefore ye conclude a greate absurditie. For ye suppose that the members of Christes bodie, elected in him to life everlasting, may so forsake the promise, so refuse Christ their head, and so breake the covenant, that to the end of their lives they contemne and despyse it; which is a thing impossible, as before I have proved, and therefor your conclusion availeth nothing. When ye shal prove that Christes shepe, committed to his charge by his heavenly Father, can become wolves or dogges to bark against their pastor, and that so they continue to the end, I will study to answer you otherwise; but unto such time as you learne to prove your purpose more substanciàlly, I must say, that because there is no member of your reason which hath a sure ground, that therefor I will not greatly study to confute the same. For man is not made sure in the Election by any promise of God; but the Election which before was secrete in God's eternall counsell, is by the promise and worde of grace notified unto man; so that tollerably it may be spoken, man is assured of his Election by the promise which he willingly embraseth; but to be sure in the Election by the promise, is not the phrase of the Holie Ghost.

Further of this, we shal examine in your Seconde reason, which is this: "Election hath no promise without faith: trew faith is God's worke by his grace, and is also mannes To the 2 & 3.

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worke, partly by consenting thereto. Wherefor Paul calleth the righteous joynt workers with God, because they worke together with him. Now, (say you,) if man for his part, according to his nature, be inconstant in his faith, then is he out of the promise, whereby he was made sure of his election; yet God's election remaineth sure and stable in Christ Jesus." The first member of your reason is darke and obscure, and the manner of speaking so strange, that in the Scriptures I am assured it is never to be founde. In one of two senses is Election taken in the Scriptures. The former, for the Elect themselves, as when Paul saieth, "The Election did obteine it," that is, the Elect of God obteined mercie. And in the same sense is Paul called the vessell of Election, that is, an elect vessel; and if in this sense ye affirme that Election, that is to say, the Elect, have no promise without faith, albeit I will not greatly contend in that behalf, yet by manifest Scriptures I may prove the contrarie, for the posteritie of Abraham by God's free election had this promise, "That he shoulde be their God." And Sainct Paul affirmeth, "That the children of the faithfull were holie," and yet all coulde not have faith when the promise was made, for then had Abraham no sede at all; but of this, I say, I will not contend. Otherwise, Election is taken in the Scriptures for the eternall counsell of God, by the which he hath appointed life everlasting to such as he hath given to his Sonne before all worldes; as Paul saith, "For yet the children were borne, when they had neither done good, neither bad, that the purpose of God which is by his Election, that is, not by workes, but by him that calleth, might stand sure; it was said unto her, The elder shal serve the yonger," &c. And after, "Even so at this time is there a remnant left through the election of grace," and so furth in divers other places. And in this sense, if ye understand that Election hath no promise without faith, I answere, That God's free election in Christ Jesus nedeth neither promise nor faith, as touching the parte of God; for he, in his election respecteth neither of bothe,

Answer.

Election is in one of two sortes taken in the Scriptures.

Rom. 9.

Rom. 9 & 11.

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but his own good pleasure in Christ his Sonne; and so I wold have wished greater plainess in the first part of your reason then there is; but I perceave the ground of your error by that which followeth. "Trew Faith (say you) is God's worke by grace, and it is also partlie man's worke by consenting thereto," which second part of this seconde member is utterly false, for Faith is no parte of mannes work, no more then the childe begotten of the Father and conceaved of the mother is the work of the self. But faith is altogether the worke of God, for as he begetteth us by the worde of Veritie, and by the power of his Holie Spirit maketh our heartes to conceave and retein the sede of life; so by his power are we kept by faith to salvation, which is prepared to this end, that it shalbe manifested in the last time: and "Therefor (saith the Apostle) through grace are ye saved by faith, and that not of yourselves." Ye must compel the Holie Ghost to recant, which I think he will not do for your threatning, before ye be able to prove that Faith is any part of mannes work.

Faith is altogether the work of God, and no part of man's worke.

1 Pet. 1.

The wordes of the Apostle you shamefully abuse; for in that place he intreateth onely how God useth the ministers of his worde and blessed Evangel, to be helpers with God, in so far as they are the embassadors of reconciliation, as in another place he calleth them; he meaneth nothing, neither what man doeth in the worke of his own salvation by his own faith, or by his owne workes. And, therefor, althogh ye (as a blinde man) go forwarde to your own perdition, saying, "Now, if man for his part, according to his nature, be inconstant in his faith, then is he out of the promise," &c; yet must we pull you backe and say, that because Faithe is no part of mannes worke, therefore doth neither his faith nor his election depend upon the inconstancie of his own nature; but God of his soveraign bountie overcoming what imperfections soever be in his chosen children, hath grounded their election in himself and in Christ Jesus his Sone. Another error I see in this your reason, which because I have sufficiently confuted, I wil here touch it onely.

1 Cor. 3.

Nether is Faith, nether Election, grounded upon man, nor upon his constancie.

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Ye make Faith, the embrasing of the promise, and our obedience, to be causes of God's election, when in verie dede they be but the effectes of our Election. For neither faith nor obedience make us to be God's Elect, but because we were elected in Christ Jesus, therefore are we called, made faithfull, obedient, and sanctified by his free grace.

To admonish you yet of one thing, and so to put end to your unreasonable reasons: wonder it is, that ye will attribute to Election that which ye denie to the Elect. You affirme that Election is sure in Christ, but not the Elect, say you. Belike ye imagine Election to be a certen speculation or imagination, without any certen substance to the which it must be referred; but S. Paul teacheth us the contrarie, saying, "He hath chosen us in Christ;" he saith not that Election was in Christ, but, "We were elected in Christ Jesus before the fundacions of the worlde were laid." This gently I put you in mind to ground your reasons more substancially, if that by them ye entend to prove any thing. A short answer I might give you to all your examples; to witt, that we speake not of election to offices, or to possession temporall, but of election to life everlasting; from the which ye are never able to prove any to have bene finally secluded, that in Christ Jesus was thereto elected before the fundacion of the worlde was laied. But yet to gratifie you somewhat, I will passe through your examples, and communicat with you my judgement: God grant you heartes to understand.

To the 4. It is a thing most certein, that albeit Adam, and all men in him, might and did fall from God by sinne, yet can not the Elect of God, who be elected to life everlasting in Christ Jesus, so fall from their election, that finally they perishe. The reason is, that as Christ Jesus, the brightnes of the glorie of his Father, and the expressed image of his substance, is greater then ever was Adam, so is his power of greater vertue to save the Elect then Adam's impotencie was to bring damnation upon all.

Christes power is of greater vertue to save his Elect then Adam's impotencie was to bring damnation upon all

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Where ye ask, If our Election be surer now, after the transgression then afore the transgression? I answere, The assurance and firmitie of our Election was alwaies, and at all times, one. For when we stode in Adam (as ye alledge), yet were we Elected in Christ; and when we fell in Adam, then did our Election burst forthe and appere.

Ye be never able to prove that Cain was Elected to life everlasting in Christ Jesus; for God looked not to Cain, nor yet to his sacrifice, as that he did to Abel. And why? because, as the Apostle affirmeth, the one offered in faith, and the other without faith. Remember, I pray you, your former reason: "There is none (say you) elected without faith:" but Cain was without faith even before he did kil or hate his brother; therefor, by your owne reason, he was not in the Election, no not even before he hated. I do not approve this argument, but yet your former reason standing true, it is invincible. Moises saieth not, that God promised dominion to Cain over his lustes, but saieth, "Unto thee shal his appetites or lustes be, and thow shall beare dominion over him;" which is not spoken of sinne, but of Abel, who as he was the yonger, so was he appointed to be subject to Cain, and to serve him, and therefor most unjustly did he hate him. It is the same phrase that before was spoken of the woman, concerning her subjection to man. Such as have but mean knowledge in the Hebrew text, know well, that both these articles be of the masculin gendre, and the substantive, which signifieth sinne in that place, is of the feminin gendre; and therefor, will not the proprietie of the tongue suffer that dominion promised be referred to sinne. Where blasphemously ye aske, If God gave Cain no power to subdue his lust, who was the author of his sinne? I answer, Cain himself: for he was not lyke to a dead and unsensible sworde, as ye adduce the similitude, but he was a reasonable instrument infected by the venom of Satan; from the whiche he not being purged, could do nothing but serve the Devil and his owne lustes, against God's expressed will and commandement. I

To the 5 & 6.

The Adversarie is convicted by his own reasons.

The place of Moises concerning Cain.

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have before proved, that God is the cause of no man's damnation, but sinne in which they are fallen, is the very cause which all reprobates do find in themselves.

To the 7. Touching the fidelitie of God, who suffereth none of his to be tempted above their strength, it is onely true of God's

1 Cor. 10. elect, to whom it is plaine that Paul there speaketh; for albeit that amonges the Corinthians there were many reprobates, yet doth Paul addresse his style as it were to the Elect church of God, calling them his beloved, willing them to flie from idolatrie, and speaking to them as unto men indued with wisdome, &c. And therefore must ye first prove, that Cain had as great testimonie of God that he was his elect, as the Corinthians had of Paule that they were beloved and elected in Christ, before that ye can make this place to serve for him; for albeit he did advertise him what was his dutie to do, yet doth it not thereof follow, that he gave him power to obey his will reveled, neither yet power to resist all tentation. To Pharao he did no less make manifest his will then that he did to Cain; and yet of him he did before pronounce, that he should not heare nor obey the voice of Moises. I do not denie but that he stubbornly forsooke the counsell of God, whiche mercifully called him. But why did he, and do all reprobate forsaik it, we have oft before declared, to witt, "because the seede of God abideth not in them."

To the 8. What was the benediction given after the floode unto Noah

Genesc. 9. and to his sonnes, the Holie Ghost doth not conceale; to witt, multiplication, preservation, and the restitution of all thinges, as touching the order of nature, like as they were before that vastation, (by reason of the waters which had so long continued.) In that place is no mention made of Election to life everlasting in Christ Jesus, and therefore your connexion, that Ham was not reprobat when he was blessed of God, is foolishe: for albeit that none can be both blessed and cursed, loved and hated, all at once, in that degree of love or of hatred which God frely beareth in Christ to his Elect, and most justlie hateth

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the Reprobate, for the causes knowen to His wisdom; yet in an other sort, it is no repugnancie to say, that God both blesseth and loveth in bestowing temporall benedictions, upon such as in his eternall counsell he hath rejected, and therefore hateth. As it is no repugnancie to say, that God bothe blesseth and loveth his Elect children, even when most severely he doth chasten and punishe them.

To all that which ye adduce of the Israelites, my former answers may suffice; for you be never able to prove, that any of them which was chosen to life everlasting did fall into death eternall. It nothing hurt the salvation of Moises, albeit his bodie fell in the wildernes. That place of Paule proveth not, that all the Israelites which was called from Egypt, were within God's holie election to life everlasting in Christ Jesus; but doth prove that they were all externally called, and that they did all communicat with those externall signes and sacraments, which did signifie, and represent spirituall thinges. But he doth not affirm that all did receave the spiritual and inward graces of the Holie Ghost. The mind of the Apostle is plaine ynough in that place to such as willingly list not blynd themselves. For he exhorteth the Corinthians not to think it sufficient that they did communicat with the sacramentes of Christ Jesus, except that a godlie life and unfeigned obedience to God's will reveled should be joyned with the same; for otherwise the same should happen unto them, that happened to the Israelites. And therefor he saieth, "Let him that standeth take hede lest he fall," which is nothing contrarie to our doctryne, neither yet is our doctrine in any iote repugnant to the Holie Ghost; for we did never denie, but that many who before men had a faire glister of holynes, yea, which thoght themselves sure in their own fantasie, hath taken horrible falles, bothe of one sort and of the other. And unto all men we cry, no less then you do, that they tempt themselves, and that they take hede lest by slothfulnes they fall; but that any that standeth in Christ Jesus, and in the eternall counsale of God can so fall that

To the 9, 10, 11, 12, & 13.

1 Cor. 10.

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finally he perishe, that we constantly denie. Behold how smoothly God conducteth our tossed boate through the raiging waves of your furious argumentes.

To the 14, 15, & 16. The fall of the Reprobate we remit to God's judgment. Albeit that Balaam had bene indued with greater graces then in Scriptures we read that he had, yet doth it not thereof follow, that he had received the Spirit of sanctification by true faith, which is given to the Elect onely; for we fynd the power given to some to expell devilles, whom Christ affirmeth that he never knew. And therefor willeth he his disciples, not to rejoyse in that that spirites were subject unto them, but that their names were written in the Book of life. But yet I wonder where ye have found, that Balaam was so filled with the Spirit of God, the spirit of trueth, the spirit of power, and the spirit of grace, (as ye write) that whomsoever he blessed, was blessed, and whom he cursed, he was cursed. I fynd no such thing witnessed of him by the Holie Ghost. Trew it is, that Balack gave unto him that praise and commendation, that he was assured that whom he blessed should be happie, and whom he cursed should be cursed. But whether that it was the purpose of the Holie Ghost to teach and assure us thereby that in very dede
Num 23. such graces were in him, I greatly doubt; yea, I doubt nothing to affirm the contrarie, to witt, that he neither had power, spirit, nor grace of God, to blesse those whom God hath cursed, neither yet to curse those whom God hath blessed; for so doth he himself confess. And for that end is the historie written. If ye understand that the benediction remained upon Jacob becaus that Balaam did so pronounce and speak, you are more blynd then Balaam was; for he assigneth another cause, saying, "How shall I curse where God hath not cursed? or how shall I detest where the Lord hath not detested? God is not as man, that he shoulde lie; neither as the sonne of man, that he should repent: hath He said, and shall he not do it? and hathe He spoken, and shall he not accomplish it? Behold, I have received commandement to blesse: for He hath blessed;

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and I can not alter it. He seeth none iniquitie in Jacob, nor seeth no transgression in Israel: the Lord his God is with him, and the joyfull showte of a king is amongest them."

In these wordes, I say, Balaam assigneth the cause why he was compelled to blesse Israel, because, saith he, God hath blessed them. And why also he could not change his blessing, because in God there is no mutabilitie, nor change, like as there is in man. And, therefore, as he had once blessed that people, by his plaine worde and promise spoken, and reveled to Abraham, so shoulde he most constantly perfourme it. If malice did not blynd you, you should clerely see, that the Holie Ghost meaneth nothing less than to teach that Balaam was blessed of God, and therefor was not at that tyme a reprobate: but that Israel was so elected, so sanctified, and blessed of God, that their very enemies, and such as were hyred to curse them, were compelled to give testimonie against themselves, that God's people was blessed. But this doeth no more make Balaam to be God's Elect, then did that confession which the wicked spirites gave to Christ, (confessing him to be the Sonne of the living God,) change their nature.

Why Balaam blessed Israel, and could not curse them.

If you be able to prove that whole Israel so fell from God's favor, that to none of Abraham's posteritie did he perfourm the promise made to him and to his sede, then have ye proved somewhat of your purpose; to witt, that God may make a promise, and that with an oath, and yet perfourm no part of it. But if it be manifest, that notwithstanding their grudging, their rebellion, their carnall lustes, their idolatrie, and abominations, God's promise remained so sure, that the same was perfourmed (after many temptations) in full perfection: Consider what may be concluded against you, in applying examples by similitude and equalitie. I would wish in you greater wisdom, then to compare Balaam, one particular person, a fals prophete accursed of God, and so perishing amongest the ungodlie, and whole Israell, God's elect and chosen people, so blessed of God, that not onely they were preserved in all stormes, but also of

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them, according to the flesh, came that blessed seede, the Messias promised.

To the 17 & 18. To Saul and to his kingdom I have before answered; to witt, that one thing it is to be appointed to a temporall office, and another to be elected in Christ Jesus to life everlasting. But yet I will adde somwhat more, which is this Proposition directlie

A proposition. fighting against yours: Saul nor his house was never chosen in God's eternall counsel to be kings and reulars over Israel for

1 Sam. 13. ever. If ye cry, Then did the Holie Ghost, speaking in Samuel, lie; for he affirmed, that God had prepared the reigne and kingdom of Saul upon Israel for ever: I answer, Samuel speaketh not in that place, what God had determined in his eternall counsel, but what he himself thoght that God had determined and appointed. And therefore, ye may not conclude, that the Holie Ghost doth lie, except the kingdom of Saul was once appointed to have remained over Israel for ever. Nay, so can ye not conclude. But ye may say, that except that so it was, the Prophet was deceaved. And so no doubt he was for a season, and did speake those wordes according to the apprehension and judgement which he had conceaved, by reason of his unction and lawfull election to his office.

If it appere hard to you, that the Prophetes be deceaved in any thing, consider, I praie you, what chanced unto him after:

1 Sam. 16. Did he not at the sight of Eliab pronounce with an affirmation, that before the Eternall, he was his anointed? Did the Holie Ghost lie because that Eliab was refused, and David chosen? Or was not rather Samuel ignorant and in an error? The same might I prove by Nathan, and others, who being God's true prophetes, were yet for a season left in error, and did both speak and give counsel otherwise than God had determined in his eternal counsel.

But now shortlie to prove my Proposition, I say, that God's eternall purpose and counsel concerning the chief rewler and governor over Israel, was long before pronounced by Jacob in his last testament, who did appoint the crown and sceptre

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royall to another tribe then to Benjamin; for thus he saith, "Thou Judah, thy bretheren shall praise thee: thine hand shalbe in the necke of thine ennemies: thy fathers sonnes shall bowe downe unto thee," &c. "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, neither the lawgiver from betwixt his feete, until Shiloh come; and the people shalbe gathered to him," &c. Here, I say, it is plaine, that many yeres before the election of Saul was the kinglie dignitie appointed to Judah; which sentence was never afterward retracted. And therefore my proposition, affirming, that Saul was never elected in the eternall counsel of God to reign for ever over Israel, standeth sure and sufficientlie proved. If any ask to what purpose was Saul then elected king? I answer, Because so it pleased God's wisdom to tempt [to try] his people, to tempt the tribe of Judah, yea, and all the faithfull that then were alive; to tempt them, I say, whether they wolde still depend upon God's promise, and look for their felicitie, even by the same meanes, that God had forespoken, how so ever thinges appered to the contrarie for a season. The whole people, no doubt, yea, and Samuel himself, were partlie criminall in that point, that they looked for salvation and for delyverance from all their ennemies by the handes of any other, then by one of the tribe of Juda, considering that the former prophecie was so plaine. But that error he did first correct in his Prophet, shewing unto him just causes why Saul was unworthie of that great honor; and after he did correct the same in the people, moving their hartes to elect David, whom the prophet had before anointed. And so did God retein the firmitie of his counsel, and did perfourme the same, when all things appered plainelie to repugne to his promise, yea, when men had receaved an other to be their king, then God by his former promise had appointed.

Gen. 49.

Why Saul was elected to the kingdom which was appointed to another tribe.

We neither denie the supernaturall wisdom and manifold graces given to Salomon, neither yet his most horrible fall, to be a document and a memoriall for ever, of his abominable

To the 18, 19, & 20.

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idolatries, and most unthankfull defection from God; which onelie one example we affirme, ought to admonish every man most carefully to examin him self, with what simplicitie he walketh before God's Majestie. But whether that Salomon so became the sonne of the devil, that after he did never returne to God, but that finally he did perish, we dare not be bold to pronounce sentence. And that because to us it appereth that God did make unto him a promise of mercie, his grevous offence notwithstanding; for this did God speak by Nathan of him:

2 Sam. 7. "When thy daies shalbe fulfilled, thou shalt slepe with thy fathers, and I will sett up thy sede after thee which shall procede out of thy body, and will stablish his kingdome: he shall buyld an house for my name, and I will stablish the throne of his kingdome for ever: I will be his father and he shalbe my sonne. And if he sinne, I will chasten him with the rodde of men, and with the plagues of the children of men; but my mercy shal not departe away from him, as I toke it from Saul, whome I have put away before thee," &c. Howsoever ye list to understand this free mercy promised to abide after iniquitie committed, you cannot denie, but that a plaine difference is made betwixt Salomon and Saul.

And if ye think that nothing spoken in that place did appertein to Salomon, who was born before that David had finished his daies, and did slepe with his fathers, but that all is performed in Christ, who many yeares after did spring of him, ye do not rightly mark the wordes of God, neither yet the mynd of the Holie Ghost; he saith not, that the childe who shoulde builde a house to the name of God, and whose kingdome he wolde establish, shoulde be borne after his death; but that God shoulde raise one who should spring of his own loynes, whom he would so honor after his death, that he wolde become his father whom ye wolde so intreate, that albeit he shoulde offend, yet shoulde he not be rejected from regiment in Israel, as Saul was, and so was the kingdome established not onelie to David, but also to his posteritie after him. The perfection,

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no doubt, was reserved to Christ Jesus, but so was the veritie in him, that the figure passed before in Salomon. Moreover, somwhat is spoken in this promise, which in no wise can be referred to Christ Jesus. For how shal any be able to prove that the just sede of David, in whose mouth was no deceat founde, did in any sort wickedly in his owne person, so that he had nede of mercy, and to be corrected with the rodde of the children? This I note, to give you occasion to take hede what sentence ye pronounce in things so farre removed from the reache of your understanding.

In the historie of Jeroboam, ye do not observe that whatsoever is promised unto him, except the first gift of the tenne tribes, is conditionall; for thus saith the Prophet unto him, "And if thou harken unto all that I command thee, and wilt walk in my waies, and do right in my sight, as did David my servant; then will I be with thee, and build thee a sure house, as I buylt unto David, and will give Israel unto thee," &c. I pray you, what can ye hereof conclude? That Jeroboam, say you, notwithstanding God's election and free ordinance, did fall from the favor of God. But how be you able to prove, that he was elected and before ordeined to stand in God's favor for ever? These sayings, "If thou walke before me in righteousnes," "If thou kepe my preceptes," and such others, will not prove it. I can evidently prove that Jeroboam, and all the kings in Israel after him, were given to the people in God's anger, and were taken away in his hote displeasure, for so doth the Prophet Oseas witnes. Now, if you can prove that such reulers as be given in God's wrath, and taken awaie in his just furie, were elected and before ordeined to stand in his favor for ever, advise with your counsellers, and produce your witnes against the next time. To the 21. 3 Reg. 11.

That Judas was never elected to life everlasting, I have before declared, and therefore at this present, I onely say, that no more did Christ mean of Judas that he should be the salt of the earth, the light of the worlde, neither that he shoulde sit To the 22, 23.

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upon any seat to judge any tribe in Israel, then that he meant of Peter that he was the devil, that he shoulde betraie him, or that better it had bene for him never to have bene borne; for as Christ in pronouncing the wordes, "You twelve have I chosen, but one of you is the devil, one of you shall betraie me," in expresse wordes he did neither appoint the person of Judas to that fact, neither yet did exempt and make fre any of the rest from suspition of that cryme; in expres wordes, I say. So likewise in saying, "Ye are the salt of the earth, and you shall sit upon twelve seates," &c., he neither meant of the whole nomber of the twelve, neither yet of them onely; for as for Judas, I doubte not to affirme, but that according as it was written in the book of Psalmes, "That his habitacion shoulde be desolate, and that another should receave the honour of his bishoprike:" that so even in the tyme when he stood in the ministerie most sure to mannes judgement, that yet in God's eternall counsel, he was appointed to that treason, and most feareful end; and I suppose that none will be so perverse of judgment as to denie, that none other was appointed to be the salt of the earth, and the light of the worlde, except those twelve. I verilie beleve that Paul is nothing inferior to any of the chiefest apostles in that case. And so yet I affirme, that neither were those wordes spoken of all the twelve, neither yet of them onely. If this can not satisfie your curiositie, labor you to prove that Judas was elected to life everlasting in Christ Jesus before the foundations of the world were laid. I have before proved, that the elect can not finally refuse nor deny Christ Jesus their head, and therefore I will not trouble the reader with the repetition.

The place of Ezechiell serveth nothing your purpose; for there doth he onely intreat of such righteous men, as in the beginning of the same chapter used this proverbe: "The fathers have eaten soure grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge;" signifying thereby (as before we have declared) that they were just and innocent, and that yet they did suffer

Ezec. 18.

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punishement, for the offences of their fathers. Against whom the Prophet speaketh most sharpely, affirming that the soule which did sinne shoulde die: in this praising God's justice, that he would suffer sinne unpunished in none of his creatures, supposing that some, for a time, had a shew of righteousnes. The prophet doeth further accuse, and convict their consciences, for they knew them selves criminall in all crimes, which the prophet there recited. And therefore to provoke them to repentance with this exhortacion, "Cast away from you (saieth he) all your transgressions, whereby ye have transgressed; and make you a new heart, and a new spirit: for why will you die, O house of Israel? For I desire not the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord God. Cause therefore one another to returne, and live ye."

Of this conclusion (I say) it easily may appere, of what sort of righteous men the Prophet speaketh: not of such as being ingrafted in Christes bodie, by the true sanctification of his spirit, do daylie studie to mortifie their affections: but of such as having an outward apperance or shew of holines, did notwithstanding lowse the bridle to all impietie. In very dede God can not remember the justice of any such, (which is not,) but their sinnes must crave just vengeance, and that the rather because by them the name of God is blasphemed. Now to the rest of that which foloweth in your book.

The Adversarie.

The 33d Section.

This say you, with many other manifest testimonies of the Scriptures, ye tosse and turne upside doune, seking shiftes to maintein your Errors; whereby you declare your self to be of the nomber of them, of whom it is written in the same place, which do say, "Tush, the way of the Lord is not indifferent." Ye will not that the Lord judge according to this way set furth in his Word, but of necessitie by an immutable decre, to save a certen, and of necessitie to condemne all the rest. Ye must not so read God's Word, studying rather to teache the Holie Ghost, then to learn your dutie of him, seking meanes rather to confirme your preconceaved error, then to avoid it. What trueth can he learne at the Word of God, which worshippeth the idoll of his own phantasie, 1. 2.

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and hath alredie forsaken the mynd of the trueth? Remember that the first lesson of wisdom is to be willing to learne wisdom. Cast away, therefor, the idoles of your heartes, which made you stomble in your wayes; submit your selves to the word as humble and meke lambes; for the Lambe onelie was found worthie to open the seales of the book. Trust not your error to be the better because it hath many favorers, specially of them which have the name of learning, for such have bene alwaies in all ages ennemies to the trueth, inventers of sectes and errors; such like as Jannes and Jambres resisted Moises, so do they the trueth; as the learned Scribes and Phariseis blasphemed the Word of God, and persecuted Christ, the Trueth itselfe, so do they yet in his membres. And even as the Phariseis said, "Do any of the reulers or of the Phariseis beleve in him? this common people which know not the law is cursed;" so say they now, Do any of our learned doctors teach so? these unlearned felowes are cursed, for they can not understand God's Word, they understand onely the English tongue; and yet wil they medle with divinitie, as though the giftes of tongues and the giftes of prophecying were so bound together, that God coulde not minister the one without the other. But this is no newe thing, for this was laid to Christ and his Apostles charge, that they were unlearned. But the Holie Ghost willeth us not to judge so; "Marke," saith Paul, "your calling, how that not many wyse men after the fleshe, not many mightie, not many of high degree are called; but God hath chosen the weake things of the worlde, the vile things of the worlde, and thinges which are dispised, and of no reputacion, to confound the mightie, and to bring to naught things of reputacion." How can such great men beleve, seing they seek to be praised one of another, and to be preferred for their knowledge in the tongues, and for the multitude of their bookes which they writ? Such learned men are more mete to be in Herodes hall, then in Christes stable; the dore is too lowe, and they too stout, they may not stowpe so lowe for the disgracing of their gravitie; onely poore shepherds which are accustomed to stables are found mete to have Christ reveled to them: not that I despise learning or learned men; for I know that learning is the good gift of God; yet, as S. Paul saith, knowledge maketh a man to swel, and many in our tyme, as in all ages paste, do abuse this good gift of God: yet not all, God forbid, for some I know, I prayse God, to whom it hath pleased God to revele the trueth of this mater, which in perfect knowledge of the tongues, are to be compared with any of your Rabbes. Be not deceaved, therefore, with vaine titles of learning, or of worldlie wisdome: if ye seke Christ, seke him where he is, in the poore stable, and not in Annas and Caiphas pallasses, without ye will se and heare Christ accused; to such a banket peradventure Christ may be called of the learned. If you will have Christ, ye must not go to seke him in the Universities, where you may be praised for your sharp wittes and eloquent tongues; but you must go forth

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unto him out of the tentes, and suffer rebuke with him. Knowe ye not that the learned Phariseis and lawers coveted to talke somtime with Christ, not to learne, but to dispute and trap him in his sayinges? and so did the learned philosophers of Grecia with Paul. Awake therefore in time, be no longer deceaved with their auctoritie, examyn your selves, examyn your selves I say, how much ye have increased in Christ by his doctrine, what perfection it hath wrought in you, and how much Christ is facioned in you by it. If you will forsake this Error and embrase the trueth, whereby ye are taught that God will all men to be saved, ye shall, God willing, perceave more increase in godlynes, and that shortly, then ever ye could or durst loke for continuing in your Error. 8.

ANSWER.

Whether that you or we pervert the meaning of the Holie Ghost speaking in his holie Scriptures, we chiefly remitte judgement to Him who shall judge the worlde with equitie, not refusing also, in the mean season, the judgement of indifferent readers. To your unjust accusations, cavillations, and malitious reportes, I will answer no thing, till the ende of this worke. And then I purpose to lay before your eyes suche thinges as ye can not denie, to the end that the simple may judge which of us do worship the idoll of our own fantasies, and have forsaken the mynd of the trueth. To the 1. To the 1, 2, 3, 4.

Albeit that ye and your capteyn Castalio beginne now to dispyse learning, yet be ye never able to prove that we have dispised godlines in the most simple of our brethren; howbeit we can not conceale the truth, affirming, that he who hath faithfully travelled in the tongues, and in the writings of godlie men, is more able to avoid error, and also more apt to teach the trueth, and to confute the adversarie, then he which is altogether ignorant, except in his naturall tongue; for we know that miracles, and the visible giftes of the Holie Ghost, given in the dayes of the Apostles, are now ceassed. Therefor, I say, we are not so proude that we dispyse learning, neither yet so malicious that we contemne the meanest gift that God hath given to any of our brethren. To the 5.

If any be that boast or bragge of their knowledge in the To the 6.

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tongues, or of the multitude of the bookes which they write, I will confesse them worthie of most sharpe rebuke. But as for suche as be principal instrumentes of Christ Jesus, how much they have profited the Church of God, and how little praise or commendation they have soght or do seke of man, the day when the secretes of all heartes shalbe reveled, will declare, and men, who be most familiarly acquainted with them, partly can witnes.

To the 7. As we do not envie the perfect knowledge in tongues of such as you praise, so do we unfeinedly desire God so to govern their heartes, if his good pleasure be, that rather they studie to edifie Christes afflicted Churche, then to accuse, sclander, and traduce suche, as in the vineyard of the Lord have labored,

To the 8. and daily do labor much more then they do. That ye will us to turn from that which ye call our Error, promising us (if so we will do) more perfection shortly, then ever we durst have loked for: We must be first taught, that our doctryne is erroneous, and after, for the assurance of our hope, we must have more then the promise of men. Thus ye procede.

THE 34TH SECTION.

THE ADVERSARIE.

The Second Argument. To prove that they whiche be once elect can never fall, they alledge this saying of Christ: "There shall arise fals Christes and fals prophetes, and shall shew great miracles and wonders; in so much, that if it were possible, the
1. verie Elect should be deceaved." Of this they gather, that it is not possible that the Elect should be deceaved, and this conditionall, "if it were possible," &c., affirmeth nothing. But admitting it be so, we must understand that the thing which is verie hard and difficile to be done, is called unpossible in the
Luk. 18. Scripture; as in that place, "It is easier for a camele to go throughe the eye of an nedle, then for the riche to enter in to the kingdom of God." This is called impossible, because it is verie hard and difficile to be done; yet be there rich men which inherit the kingdom of heaven. "How can you beleve
John 5. (saieth Christ) which receave honor one of an other?" this semeth unpossible by Christes wordes, yet many such were converted to Christ. And the same spirit of vaine glorie was amongest the elect apostles of Christ, after they had continued a long time with him; for they contended who should be superior
2. among themselves. "Can a woman forget the childe of her wombe, and not
Esai. 49. pitie the sonne whom she hath born?" whiche thogh it seme unpossible, for as

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much as it is contrarie to nature, yet do women destroy and devore their own
birthes. "May a man of Inde change his skinne, and the cate of the moun- 3.
tane her spottes? no more may ye that be exercised in evill do good;" suche Jere. 13.
we be of our selves, notwithstanding by the power of God we be regenerat;
we leave off from our evill exercises, and do that which is good. Thus we
se it is called impossible in the Scriptures which is contrarie to nature, which
excedeth our strength, and therefor is difficile and hard to be done. Even so
it is impossible, that is, it is a very hard thing, that the Elect which follow the 4.
Lambe whether so ever he goeth, should be deceaved; yet notwithstanding
it may come to passe: as Eva was the Elect of God, and notwithstanding the
Apostle witnesseth that she was begyled and deceaved by the Serpent, there- 2 Cor. 11.
for warned Christ the elect Apostles, saying, "Take hede that no man deceave Matt. 24.
you." If Christ had bene of your opinion, that the Elect could not be de- 5.
ceaved, to what purpose should he bid his chosen take hede lest any man
should deceave them? "Let no man deceave you," saieth Paule to the 2 Thes. 2.
Thessalonians, to whom he bare witnes that they were worthy of the kingdom
of heaven; yet was he carefull, lest they should be deceaved and moved from
their good mynd, either by spirit or by wordes, or by letter which should
seme to come from him. And to the Ephesians, "Let no man deceave you Ephes. 5.
with vain wordes; for because of suche thinges commeth the wrath of God
upon the children of disobedience." And likewise warneth he the Romanes, 6.
to marke and avoide such as with swete and flattering wordes deceaved the
heartes of the innocent. As the old prophete which dwelled in Bethel de-
ceaved the man of God whiche came from Judah, and prophecied against the
alter which Jeroboam buylded, "I am a prophete (said he) also as well as
thow, and an angell spake unto me in the name of the Lord, saying, Bring him
againe with thee into thine own house, that he may eate breade and drink
water: and he lied and deceaved the man of God:" such lying prophetes be 7.
now a daies, which say, they be sent from God, and call the people to their
congregations, without which, they say, there is no salvation; for they con-
demne all others which be not of their sect. And when they have allured
the people with fals erroneous doctryne, they provoke them to a careles liber-
tyne life, apt to allure any man. Beware, friends, that ye go not with them, 8.
lest, as the man of God, for his going back, was killed of a lyon, so ye be
slayne by errors and devored of the devil, which as a roaring lyon goeth
about seking whom he may devore. Of the testimonies above recited, it ap-
pereth that the Elect may be deceaved; and yet it is the phrase of the
Scripture to call it impossible whiche is very hard and difficile to be done.
There be also many Elect whiche fall away, not because they are deceaved, 9.
but willingly and purposely, as Judas was not deceaved, but wilfully refused
the grace of God. Also Achitophel, being a notable wittie man, was not de-
ceaved by any mannes persuasion, but wilfully refused his master David, and

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played the traitor. Balaam was not deceaved, for he knew well the will and the mynd of God. Salomon was not deceaved, in whom grace and witt abounded above all others: and yet forsook he God. So the Elect, though they be not deceaved, yet be they at libertie and may refuse the grace of
10. God, if they will. And think you that Adam or any other can be saved by God's ordinance if they wilfully forsake it? Can any manne be saved by Christ which doth forsake him? "They which be once lightned, and have tasted of the heavenlie giftes, and are becom partakers of the Holie Ghost, and have tasted of the good worde of God, and of the power of the world to come," I can not tel how they should be deceaved: yet may they fall away, and crucifie the Sonne of God afresh, and make a mock of him. Lykewise they which be sanctified by the Spirit of God, and sprinkling of bloode of the testament, they may tredde the Sonne of God under foote.

ANSWER.

If it had pleased you either diligently to have red our writinges, either faithfully to have recited the testimonies which we use for confirmation of our doctrine, ye should have found mo, and such as be somwhat more plaine then any of those that ye take upon you to confute. But praised be God who giveth such majestie even to those places which ye yourself appoint, that when ye have said all, yet doth the veritie remaine invincible.

To the 1, 2, & 3. That this conditionall, "if," in these wordes, "If it were possible the Elect should be drawen into error," affirmeth nothing, I am content, so that the same reason be a law against you in all other places. But that this word "impossible" shalbe interpreted in all places of Scripture by this phrase, "a thing hard to be done," I can not admitte without testimonies more evident then yet ye have adduced; for the most part of those plainely deny that interpretation. For as it is impossible for a camel (or cable, that is, a great rope of a ship), remaining in the own quantitie, to go through an nedil's eye (remaining in the own streitnes), so is it lyke impossible for a rich man, remaining in his own natural pryde, covetousnes, and corruption, to enter in to the kingdom of God. And therefor when those which heard were offended, asking, "And who may then attein to salvation?"

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Christ answered, "Thinges that be impossible before man, are possible with God." Marke well, that Christ called the humiliation of the rich man impossible unto man, but possible unto God. And the same, I say, is true of those that seke glorie and praise of men, for impossible it is unto such abiding in the corruption unfeanedly to beleve in Christ Jesus. For albeit the spirit of vaine glorie did now and then burst out and appere amonges the disciples, yet was it alwaies repressed and corrected by the severe objurgation of their Master, and in the end, by the power of the Holie Spirit it was removed.

God doth not affirm that it is impossible to a woman to forgett the childe of her bosom, but laying his perfect love against her natural love corrupted, he saieth, "If she may, yet can not I forgett them that trust in me;" and so he preferreth his love towardes his children to the love of any creature whiche they can beare towardes others.

The examples of the man of Inde, and of the cat of the mounteine, can in no wise receave your interpretation. For the impossibilitie of the one and of the other, experience of long continuance hath taught us. For we see, that althogh the Moorain change the region where he was born, yet kepeth he his naturall blacknes; neither yet can any art utterly remove the spottes of that beast, which the Prophete in that place calleth the leopard. How impossible it is that they be changed none can be ignorant, except such as have not sene, or do not know the beast nor her nature. And therefor upon these two thinges, to nature impossible, did the Prophete conclude, that no more could the citizens of Jerusalem, being exercised in all iniquitie, leave the same; and so was it impossible,—impossible, I say, to themselves and to their own power. For what the Spirit of God worketh in the conversion of sinners, oght not to be attributed unto man's power.

And thus I say, that those thinges which the Holie Ghost pronounced to be impossible, remain impossible. And therefor it is not onely a hard and a difficile thing that the Elect of To the 4 & 5.

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God, who follow the Lambe where ever he goeth, be so deceaved, that finally they perishe; but also it is impossible, and that because the true Pastor conducteth them, leadeth them furth to the wholsom pastures and waters of life, illuminateth them by the presence of His light, and, finally, doth sanctifie and confirme them in his eternall veritie by the power of his Holie Spirit.

Upon those wordes of the Apostle, "I feare lest that your senses be corrupted from the simplicitie which is in Christ; even as the serpent deceaved Eva," ye labor to prove, that the Elect shalbe deceaved, for she, say you, was the Elect of God, and yet she was deceaved. In few wordes I answer, that because she was the Elect of God she remained not in that error. We do not denie but that the simple shepe do somtimes erre, and go astray from their pastor; that they heare to their great danger the owling of wolves, and do credit and receave lies for veritie; yea, and further, that somtimes with knowledge they committe iniquitie. But that they are permitted in the same finally, and without redemption to perish, that we constantly denie, for impossible it is that the lively members shal lack participation with the head. Imposible it is that Christes death shal lack his effect, which is the life of those that of his Father are committed to his charge, of whom impossible it is that any shal perish. For the nombre of our brethren must be complete; neither yet doth it hereof follow, that exhortacions and admonitions be superfluous and vaine, for they are the meanes which the wisdom of God knoweth to be most necessarie to stirre up our dull senses, which alwaies be redie to ly in a certen securitie. And therefor the wordes of our Master spoken to his Disciples, and the admonition of Paul to the Churches in his daies, doth much profit, comfort, and confirme us; for by the same we are so armed against offences and sclanders which daily do chance, that albeit we see that from amongest ourselves arise such as bring in damnable sectes, which lead many to perdition, yet we do not therefor detest nor abhore Christ's simple

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veritie; but being provoked by that fall and dejection of others, with great solicitude and care we call for the assistance of God's Holie Spirit on those most miserable and most wicked daies.

That ye affirme us to be lyeing prophetes not sent of God, but such as runne of ourselves, calling to our Congregation the people, whom after we provoke to a careles and libertine life, we answer not to you, but to our God. Judge us (O Lord) in this cause according to our innocencie, and according to the puretie which thy Spirit hath formed in our heartes; destroy all lyeing lippes, and confound thou those that of malice trouble thy afflicted flock. To the 7.

Let your friendes, enemies to God's eternall trueth, proude boasters of their own justice, and suppressers to their power of Christes glorie, give eare, if they list, to your admonition, absenting themselves from all well reformed Congregations. We will not cease to exhort all the faithfull to frequent and hant the places wher Christes Evangil is truely and openly preached, his holie Sacramentes rightly ministered according to his own ordinance and institution, and also where disciplyne is put in practise according to that ordre which he himself hath commanded. Neither yet will we cease to affirme, that your privie assemblies, and all those that in dispyte of Christes blessed ordinance do frequent the same, are accursed of God. To the 8.

We do not deny but that Judas, Achitophell, Balaam, and many mo, willingly and of determined purpose, did wickedly and most unthankfully offend; but what is this to your mater? It resteth alwaies to be proved, that they were Elected in Christ Jesus by the eternal counsel of God. Your foolish question, demanding, If Adam, or any other man, can be saved by Christ which doth forsaik him? I have before answered, plainely proving that the Elect children can not finally forsaik and contemne the ordinance of their Father. Neither yet can the membres refuse the life whiche they receave from their head; and that because the Spirit of God drawing them to Christ, maketh them to fele their necessitie which they have of him. And To the 9. To the 10. The Elect of God can not forsake Christe.

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therefor with all thankfulnes and joy do they receave him who is made to us from God, wisdom, justice, satisfaction, redemption, and life. To me it appereth a very foolish question, if any should demand if a man perfect in witt, memorie, and reason, feling himself so pressed with honger or thirst, that of necessitie he must perish except nature were supported, to ask (I say) if such a man willingly and obstinatly wold refuse wholsom meat and drink, appereth foolish and vaine, and such is your question. For the Elect children do fele their own miserie, honger, thirst, and povertie, yea, they labor under the burden of their sinnes, which they hate, of the which they wold be releved; and therefor they can not refuse the justice, life, and assured redemption which is offered to them in Christ Jesus. To whom be all praise, glorie, and honor for ever.

The place of the Apostle I have before answered, and therfor I shortlie come to that which ye call:—

THE 35TH SECTION.

THE ADVERSARIE.

THE THIRD ERROR OF THE CARELES BY NECESSITIE.

God hath two maner of wills, one reveled will, and a secret will, which is onely knowen to Himself. By God's reveled will, men should not come to nought; but they which perish, do perishe by his secrete will, in respect of God's commandement. It was not God's will that Adam should sinne, but in respect of God's secrete will, God wold Adam to fall.

ANSWER.

How maliciously ye perverte our wordes, and how impudently ye forge upon us a form of doctryne which did never enter into our thoughtes, shall appere, God willing, by answering to that which ye call the Confutacion of our Third Error, which thus beginneth:

THE 36TH SECTION.

THE ADVERSARIE.

1. The authors of this wicked opinion, when they could not sufficiently confirme their Errors by the auctoritie of God's Word, they invented a new shift
2. to approve it by God's secrete will. For, say they, thogh God, by his reveled

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will, will all men to be saved, yet, by his secrete will, he willeth many to be damned. By his reveled will, he will no wickednes, but by his secrete will, 3.
he will Pharao to be hard hearted, Semei to curs David, the Patriarkes to sell their brother Joseph, &c. By his reveled will, he wold not that Adam 4.
should fall, but by his secret will, he willeth Adam to fall. I marvel much where ye have founde out this maner of doctrine, for neither Moses and the Prophetes, neither Christ and his Apostles, use any such maner of doctrine. Further, what profit do ye to the people with this doctrine? Sure I am that you cause many to conceave an evill opinion of God hereby. But now, for- 5.
asmuch as the secrete will of God is knowen to none but to himself alone, who hath reveled it to you? How can ye say this is God's secrete will? If it was God's secrete will that Adam should fall, and you knew it, then it is both secrete and unsecrete, both reveled and unreveled, both knowen and unknowen. What greate absurditie is this! Can a man call that which he knoweth unknown, or that which is secrete reveled? so may a man say, hearing is not hearing, light is no light. By this strange doctrine you wolde be counted wise, but you are so much from the right way, that you are become foolishe. You can not content yourself with such thinges as it hath pleased 6.
God to revele in his Word for our comfort, but will nedes knowe God's secret will. "Search not (saith Sirach) out the ground of things as are too mightie Eccle. 3.
for thee, but looke what God hath commanded thee; and looke upon that O, that you could looke upon that always, and be not curious in many of his workes, for it is not nedefull for alwayes!
thee to see with thine eyes thinges that are secret: the medling with such thinges hath beguyled many a man, and entangled their witts in vanitie." And
in the Proverbes: "Lyke as it is not good to eate too much honie; even so Prover. 25.
he that will searche out highe thinges, it shalbe too heavie for him." "Wo Esaie. 5.
be unto them (saith the Lord) that are wyse in their own sight, and think themselves to have understanding;" for he that presumeth to know the secret will of God, and thereby will confirme his error, he can not be reformed by
God's reveled will, which is the Worde. "Be not wise (saith Paul) in your Rom. 12.
own opinions." And the Holie Ghost: "Be not wise in your own conceat, Prov. 3.
but feare the Lord and depart from evill; so shall thy navel be whole, and thy bones strong." And Job: "It is not we that fynde out the Almightie, for Job 37.
in power, equitie, and righteousnes he is higher then can be expressed: Let men therefor feare him, for there shall no man see him that is wise in his own conceat." We must not seke out the secretes of God, for we shall not pre- 7.
vaile, but bring ourselves to confusion. If we go about to establishe our opinions by God's secret will, we must nedes fall in horrible darcknes and errors.
For who can know what the will of God is? we must submitt ourselves with 8.
all humilitie to the Word, and there with great reverence search out such things as are written for our comfort and edification, which we can not duelie
understand without the Spirite of God to teache us; as it is written, "Oh, Sap. 9.

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Lord, who can have knowledge of thy understanding and meaning, except thow give him wisdom, and send thy Holy Ghost from above?" But if we prepare ourselves with reverence to read the Word of God, to the intent to understand it to our consolation, and with humilitie submit ourselves to do it, God will open to us so much as is either necessarie or profitable for us.

ANSWER.

To the 1. 2. 3. 4. What confirmation our doctrine hath by the invincible and most evident testimonies of God's holie Scriptures, I will not now dispute, onely I must compleine, that maliciously and most impudently ye wrest our wordes and pervert our myndes. And for the probation thereof, I say, that ye are never able to shew in any of our writings the wordes and sentences which in this place ye affirme us to say. Ye be never able (I say) to prove that we have written or taught: That God by his reveled will, will all men to be saved, and yet by his secrete will, he willeth many to be damned: That by his reveled will, he willeth no wickednes, but by his secret will, he will Pharao to be hard hearted, Semei to curse David, the Patriarkes to sell their brother Joseph: That by his reveled will, he wolde not that Adam shoulde fall, but by his secret will, he willeth Adam to fall.

These Propositions, I say, you be never able to shew in our writinges, neither yet to prove that our doctrine did or doth tend to that end. For we constantly affirme, That God reveled unto us his most holie and most just will in his plaine and holie Scriptures, which do assure us that a separation shalbe made betwixt the goats and the lambes, that the one shal receave the kingdom prepared unto them before all beginning, and that the other shalbe adjudged to the fyre which never shalbe quenched: That God stirred and raised up Pharao, that his power might be declared in him: That these wordes God plainely spoke to Exod. 7. Moises; "I know that Pharao shal not permitte the people to depart, therefore have I hardened his heart, that I may multiplie my wonders upon him:" That David did represse the furie of Abisai, and of his servantes who wolde have killed Semei,

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saying, "Suffer him to curse, for the Lord hath commanded him. The Lord perchance shal behold my affliction, and shal reward me with good for his cursing this day:" That Joseph said to his bretheren, "Be you not moved with sorow that ye have sold me; for the Lord hath sent me for conservation of a great multitude: it is not therefore you that have sent me hither, but God; who hath made me father to Pharao, and lord over his whole house." None of all these, I say, do we cast upon God's secrete will, as ye falsly accuse us; but we do constantly affirme, that His will is so plainely reveled in these maters, that such as shall denie any of them to have bene God's will, can not escape abnegation of his eternall veritie. And further, we say, That the fall of man is plainely reveled unto us, not onely by experience, but even by that same law which was imposed on him shortly after his creation; the transgression whereof made Adam and all his posteritie criminall and giltie to God's justice, and that neither against God's will reveled, neither yet against his secrete will; for by his will reveled can no man further conclude but this, that in what day soever Adam should eate of the frute forbidden, that he should die the death. But Adam, against God's commandement, did eat, and therefor did he justly underly the sentence of death. And thus do we referre to God's will manifestly reveled, whatsoever ye imagin that we ascribe to his secret will. Neither yet nede you to marvell, if ye list to take such paines as to read our writinges, where that we finde the doctryne that we teach (your surmised lie we cast upon yourselves), seing that Moises, the Prophetes, Christ Jesus, and his Apostles, in all writings do affirme the same.

2 King i. 6.

Gene. 45.

But yet, lest that ye should think that we attribute nothing to God's secret will, I will in few wordes confesse what we teach, maintein, and beleve in that case. And that the rather, because you gather a greate absurditie, not of our doctryne, but of that which ye falsely imput upon us, in this maner: "Forasmuch (you say) as the secrete will of God is knowen to

To the 5.

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none but to himself alone, who hath reveled it to you? How can you say this is God's secret will? If it was God's secret will that Adam should fall, and you knew it, then it is both secret and unsecret, both reveled and unreveled, both knowen and unknown. What great absurditie is this?"

To the which I answere, according to your impudent foolishnes, that because you fight with your owne shadowe, these your dartes do hurt us nothing; for we do not affirme that we do knowe the fall of man by God's secret will, but by his will manifestly reveled unto us by his holie Scriptures. Or more plainly to answer your reasons, which you think invincible, we say, that that will which was secret in God before all time, was reveled to man in time by his owne Word, and that from time to time the same became more manifest, as Sainct Paul witnesseth in these wordes: "To me, the least of all saintes, is given this favor (or grace), that I should preach amongest the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christe: That I should bring forth to light before all men, what is the communion of the mysterie which was hid from all ages in God, who hath made all things by Christ Jesus: that the manifest wisdome of God may nowe be notified to principates and powers in heavenlie things by the church, according to the fore appointment of the ages which he had made in Christ Jesus our Lorde." So that we are now bold to say, that albeit no creature did knowe before all time what order God should kepe in the creation and disposition of all thinges in time; yet may we nowe, I say, be bolde to affirme, that the secrete was hidd in the eternall counsell of God. That first he wold create the heaven, the earth, the masse being rude, having darknes upon the great depthe, thereafter that he wold make light, putting division betwene the light and the darknes, and so forth, as Moises hath declared the order observed in the creation. And as those things were sometime secret, but now are manifest, reveled, and knowen, so likewise was the falle of man, and the redemption which commeth by Christ Jesus, somtime secrete in the eternall

Ephes. 3.

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counsell of God, but nowe is most manifestly preached and declared by Christ Jesus, and by his holie Apostles. For nowe we know that God so loved the world, that his onelie beloved Sonne hath he given, that so many as do beleve in him shall have the life everlasting. Which life was even before all times in Christ Jesus, even as we were elected in him before the foundations of the world were laid. And therefor I doubt not to affirme, but that the fall of man and the remedie for the same, was not onelie foresene but also before determined, and the frute which of the same should ensue, concluded, and appointed in God's eternall counsell before that ever Adam was created.

The reason and probation hereof we have before declared to be the issue of all things, as we are taught by God's manifest Word, yea, by most evident experience. For who nedeth nowe to doubt, that it was God's eternall counsell that man should fall from that perfecte image in which he was created, and so become subject to the death; to the end that the faithfull might receave perfection, justice, and life in Christ Jesus alone, seing that Scripture so manifestly affirmeth that "we were elected in Christ Jesus before the foundations of the worlde were laid:" That God hath wrapped all nations in disobedience that he might have mercie upon all; upon all, I say, which refuse not the remedie from all beginning prepared, which is Christ Jesus, as the Apostle witnesseth, saying, "In him, and by him, are all things created: and he is before all things, and all things consist or abide by him. And he is the head of the bodie of the Churche: who is the beginning, the first-begotten of the dead; that in all things he may hold the pre-eminence. For it hath pleased the Father that all fulnes should dwell in him, and to reconcile by him all things to himself"? This counsell, I say, was not temporal, as taken and devised after the fall of man; but it was eternall, as the same Apostle witnesseth in these words: "God hath called us by an holie vocation, not according to our works, but according to his purpose and grace, which

Rom. 11.

Colo. 1.

2 Tim. 1.

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was given to us by Jesus Christ before eternall times; but is now made manifest by the appering of our Saviour Jesus Christ." But mark well, that the Apostle saith that grace was given to the faithfull by Christ Jesus from the eternitie of times, which
Tit. 1. thus to Titus he doth confirme, saying, "Paul, the servant of God, and an Apostle of Jesus Christ, according to the faith of God's elect, and the knowledge of the veritie which is according to godlines; in the hope of eternall life, which he hath promised, which is God that can not lie, before the world began; and hath opened his worde at the tyme appointed through preaching," &c. And the same saieth Peter, speaking of our
1 Pet. 1. redemption by Christes pretious blood, "who certeinly was preordinate (sayeth he) before that the world was made, but was manifested in the last times."

Having these, I say, most evident Scriptures to assure our conscience that redemption, remission of our sinnes, grace, and reconciliation, were appointed for us, yea, and were given unto us before all times, what nede we to doubt what was the counsell of God in man's creation, or what was his secret will in giving to him the commandement of not eating the frute? and therefor you do not onely folishly, but also injuriously, in thus railing upon us: "What strange and monsterous doctrine is this? to say things be secrete and unsecret, knowen and unknowen, reveled and unreveled; as man should say hearing is not hearing, and light is not light." No such absurditie can justly be gathered upon our doctrine, for simply we say, that things somtimes kepte secrete in the counsell of God, and unknowen to the sonnes of men, were after disclosed and made manifest to the world, in so much, that light expelled darknes from the heartes of the sonnes of light, and knowledge removed ignorance from those that were appointed to life. If these things do not satisfie you, yet my good hope is, that the godlie Reader shall perceave that most unjustly you accuse us, as if in our doctrine were plaine contradiction.

And yet as touching the secrete will of God, we, moreover,

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affirme that our eternal Election in Christ Jesus, our temporall falling in Adam, our restitution to life by the promise made, are not secret, but manifestly reveled. But why that so it pleased His infinite wisdome and goodnes to dispose and before ordeine the mysterie of our salvation; that first we should beare the image of the earthlie and carnall Adam, before that we should beare the image of the heavenlie and spirituall; that first we should be all wrapped in sinne, and by reason thereof in miserie and death, before that we should be perfecte, just, and come to felicitie and life everlasting; and finally, why that it pleased his Majestie to choose some, and of this same masse to rejecte others; we say, is not reveled, neither yet shalbe, before that Christ Jesus appere in his glorie, when the bookes shalbe opened, and all secretes shalbe disclosed.

To speake the mater so simply as I can, that ye have no occasion to complein of obscuritie, I say, that God's will in these subsequentes, and in many others his wonderous workes, is secret. First, Why did not God more sodenly creat the world? Why gave he to Adam no greater strength? Why did he permitt him to falle? Why did he not provide mannes redemption by some other meanes, then by the cruell and ignominious death of his own Sonne? Why did he choose the seede of Abraham to be his people, refusing and rejecting, as it were, the rest of the world? And finally, why that God wold that his dear Sonne should die in Jerusalem, called his owne city by reason of the Temple and Sacrifices appointed? Why, I say, that God by the figures of the Law, and by his Prophetes, had before spoken, that the Messias should suffer in that citie, and that the builders, who then onely in earthe were reputed and knowen to be the Church of God, should reject and refuse the chief corner stone, Christ Jesus?

In these and others, the wonderous workes of God, (which so far excede the reach of our understanding, that more able they are to quenche and swallow up all light which remaineth in us, then is the great depth of the sea to devoure our frayle To the 6, 7, 8.

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bodies,) do we hold the secrete will of God for a rule of all equitie, perfection, and sufficiencie: teaching and affirming, that if any man, of vane curiositie, or of devilish pride, presume to define or determine upon these or others His inscrutable secretes, the causes whereof (other then his secret but most just will) is not, neither shalbe reveled till the full glory of the sonnes of God be manyfested; when the wisdome, goodnes, justice, and mercie of God shall so evidently appere, to the full contentation of his Electe, and to the most just convicting of the consciences of the very Reprobate, to whome shall be left no place of excuse; but in their owne consciences they shall receave the just sentence of their most just condemnation; and so shall they in tormentes glorifie the most just and most severe judgement of God, and his unspeakable hatred against sinne conceaved. We teach and affirme, I say, that if any man in this life travale to searche out other causes of these foresaid works of God, then his secrete will, that the same man headlongs casteth himselfe into horrible confusion, which he cannot eskape without spedie repentance. And against such men are all the Scriptures by you alledged, spoken, and written, and not against us; who, as we affirme nothing which God's Worde doeth not plainely teache us, so do we cease curiously to inquire any cause of his workes, other then it hath pleased his godlie wisedome and mercie to revele unto us by his Holie Spirit, plainely speaking in his holie Scriptures. And therefor to you it shalbe most profitable to trye and examine this mater with greater indifferencie then hitherto you have done; and to ponder and wey whether it be ye or we that be wise in our owne conceate, sight, or opinion; or that go about to finde out the Almightie, that is, to subjecte his Majestie and wisdome to the judgement of our corrupt reason. You (I say) who upon his words plainely spoken by the Holie Ghost, and upon his works, which he neither feareth nor eshameth to attribute and claime to himself, dare make these blasphemous conclusions: "Then is he more cruel then a wolfe; then is he a dissembler; then beareth he honey in his mouth and gaule in

Rom. 12.

Job 37.

The sayings of Castalio against John Calvin.

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his breast; then is he author of sinne; and he himself then is unjust and contrarious to himself." Or we that comming but onely to the sight of God's incomprehensible judgements, with all trembling and reverence fall down before his Majestie, and with the Apostle do crye, "O the deepnes of the riches, and wisdome, and knowledge of God! howe inscrutable are his judgements, and unsearchable are his waies! Who hath knowen the minde of the Lord? or who hath bene of his counsell? or who hath given unto him first, that he should recompence him? For of him, and by him, and in him, are all things: To Him be glorie for ever. Amen." Be you yourselves judges, I say, whether you or we do search out thinges that be above the reache of our capacities, and by that meanes studie to bring God as it were in bondage to our reasons. But now that which foloweth in these wordes:— Rom. 11.

The Adversarie.

The 37th Section.

"Thy worde (sayeth David) is a lanterne to my fete and a light unto my steppes. When thy worde goeth forth, it giveth light and understanding even unto babes: All the wordes of the Lord are pure and cleane; it is a shielde to them that put their trust in it." And the Prophet Esaya: "If any man lacke light, let him looke upon the lawe and the testimonie." We must not leave the word and seke to establish our phantasies, either by reason or God's secret will. For we are commanded that we turne not from the word, neither to the right hand nor to the left, that thou maiest, sayeth the Holye Ghost, "have understanding in all that thou takest in hand." This is sufficient for us, and this we ogbt for to do. But we knowe, say you, even by the worde, that God hath a secret will, whereby he worketh all that pleaseth him verie well. And can you prove thereby that God hath two willes? God hath reveled so much of his will as is profitable for us to us to knowe; the rest, which is neither necessarie nor mete for us to know, he hath not reveled. Is it therefore an other will, or is that which is not reveled contrarie to that which is reveled? Then shall there be contrarietie in God, which is fals. If God, in respect of his reveled will, wold not that Adam should fall, but in respect of his secret will, he wold Adam should fall; then did God will two contraries, which is impossible. Was there ever any such monsterous doctrine taught? God abhorreth a double heart, which speaketh one thing and thinketh another; and yet, abhorre you not to charge God with that which he cannot abide in his creatures, that is, that He should speak one thing, as that

1. Psalm 119.
2. Prov. 30.
3. Esa. 8.
4.
5.
Rom. 12.
Job 37.

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Adam should not have fallen, and think and will the contrarie, that Adam should have fallen.

ANSWER.

To the 1. The will of God, plainely reveled in his holie Scriptures, we do not onely followe as a bright lanterne shining before us, for the directing of our pathes, walking in the darknes of this mortalitie, but also we affirme it to be of such sufficiencie, that if an Angell from the heaven, with wonders, signes, and miracles, wolde declare to us a will repugning to that which is alredie reveled, persuading us upon that to ground our faith, or by that to rule the actions of our lives, we wold hold him accursed, and in no wise to be heard. And therefore, yet once againe, I can not cease to exhort you, if by late revelations ye (I mean some of your faction) hath receaved any newe knowledge of God's will, by the which you persuade others, that man in this life shalbe pure and clean, without sinne; that God shall expell it, not onely in the resurrection, but even while we walk compassed with this corruptible flesh, even as the bright sunne chaseth away the dark cloudes; that the children of God shal so beare dominion over the wicked in this earth, that all the proud tyrannes and oppressors shall become slaves to the godlie; and that shalbe their hell and punishment, as the earthlie reigning of the others shalbe their heaven and joye promised.

Examine, I say, yourselves if that any of you be infected with these and others mo grosse and foolish fantasies, which by
To the 2. God's reveled will you be never able to prove. But as for us, we have proved, and offer to prove at all times, by the reveled will of God, whatsoever we teach, affirme, or beleve of God's eternal election, or of his most just reprobation. For we confesse even the self same thing which you alledge us to say, which is, that by the Word of God we knowe that God hath a secret will whereby he worketh all that pleaseth him in heaven and in earth; and that also he hath reveled unto us so much as is profitable for us to know, either yet necessarie for our

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salvation. For the which we praise His eternal goodnes and infinit wisdom; and do affirme further (as before we have said), that such as stand not content with that which is reveled, but arrogantly list to mount up to search the secretes of God's counsel, shalbe beaten downe againe by the brightnes of his glorie to eternal confusion, in a just recompence of their presumpteous boldnes. And thus much with you we will willingly confesse; but where upon certen questions you make such conclusions as pleaseth you, we cannot but accuse in you that unreverent, yea, devilish boldenes and pride, which in all men we condemne. But let us heare your own wordes:—

"Can you prove thereby that God hath two willes? or is that which is not reveled contrarie to that which is reveled? then shoulde there be contrarietie in God, which is false. If God, in respect of his reveled will, wold not that Adam should fall, but in respect of his secret will, he wolde Adam should fall; then did God will two contraries, which is impossible."

These be your wordes and severall reasons most blasphemously spoken, not against us, but against God's eternall wisdome. Against us (I say) ye cannot speak them, for no such doctrine have we ever taught. For we most constantly affirme, that the secret will of God, and his will reveled, is alwaies one, which is the manifestation and declaration of his own glorie, althogh it seme divers in the instrumentes, as before I have most manifestly declared. And thus most justly might I send you to debate your cause with Him, whose justice and wisdom cannot be subject to the vanitie of your reason. But yet, because no small part of this controversie betwixt you and us consisteth in this, that you can admit no will in God, the reason and cause whereof ye cannot see, perceave, nor understand; and we affirming the contrarie, say, that of God's secret will can neither man nor angell perceave, assigne, or understand any other reason or cause but his holie will onelie; and therefore, with all reverence do they stoupe, and covering their eyes, crie, "Just and righteous art thou, O Lord, in all thy

To the 3, 4, 5.

Esay 6.

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workes: Holie, holie, holie, Lord God of armies: The universall earth is replenished with the glorie of his Majestie:" Because, I say, a great part of our controversie standeth in this point, I will go through your questions, and severally answer to everie one.

First, you aske, If God have two willes, by reason that he hath a secret will and a reveled will? I answere, That as God in his eternal Godhead is simple and one, so is his will in respecte of himselfe from all begianning simple and one, which is the declaration of his owne glorie. But because the instrumentes (in which God's glorie is and must be for ever manifested and knowen) be divers, therefor hath God's will, which in himself is one, divers considerations, effectes, and
Matth. 25. endes, in respect of the divers instrumentes. For example, God will the vessels of his mercies to be extolled to the glorie of the kingdome with Christ Jesus; but he will the vesselles of wrath to be adjudged to the fire inquenchable, prepared for the Devill and all his angelles. Who doth not see, but in respecte of these divers instruments, the will of God hath divers respectes and divers endes, and justly may be called two willes, or a double will? For it is one will to save, and another will to condemne, as touching the instruments and creatures saved or condemned. But in respecte of God, the will is one and simple, which is, as before is said, the manifestation of his glorie, which no lesse shyneth in the just punishment of the one sort, then in the mercifull deliverance of the other. And this much for the first.

Secondly, ye ask, If that which is not reveled be contrary to that which is reveled? To the which I answere as before, that in respecte of God, there is no contrarietie betwixt the will reveled and the will unreveled. But yet may the creatures to whome God doeth notifie his will by commandement, rebuke, or exhortation, apprehend and understand one thing, and yet it may be that God in his eternall counsell hath determined the expresse contrarie. If this to you, at the first sight, seeme

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strange, yet my good hope is, that examples in the Scriptures proposed shall make the mater sensible ynough to the godlie and sober reader. What do we think that David did apprehend of that most sharp and vehement rebuke given unto him by Nathan the Prophete in the name of God? No doubt that he was the sonne of death, that God wold break the league and covenant with him, as he had done to Saule his predicessor. But was it therfor the eternall purpose of God that so it should be? The end and issue declareth the contrarie. Ezechias receaved the very sentence of present death from the mouthe of the Prophet Isaiah, who no doubt came not with message at all adventure, but at the expresse commandement of God; for so he affirmeth, sayinge, "Thus saieth the Lord, Put order to thy house, for thou shalt die, and shalt not live." But was not therefor the contrarie (to witt, that he should afterward live fiftene yeres) determined in the immutable counsell of God? The same might I declare by many other exhortations and commandementes, but with one I will stand contented, which shall adde light to the former. To the 4. Isa. 38.

Abraham was commanded by God to take his sonne Isaak, whome he loved, his onelie sonne, in whome the promise stode, and to go to the mounteine which God wold appoint, and there to offer him in sacrifice. What will of God did Abraham apprehend in this commandement during the journey of three dayes? God himselfe beareth recorde that Abraham did so understand God's will, that his owne hand was stretched out to kill his sonne; yea, that in his heart he had killed him. For so saith the Angell: "Because thou hast done this, and hast not spared thy onelie sonne, I shall blesse thee." But whether had God in his eternall counsell determined that Abraham should kill his sonne, as Abraham did understand by his will reveled? whosoever dare so affirme, maketh God subjecte to mutabilitie, and denieth him to be God, whose wisdome, knowledge, purpose, and counselles be stable, and appointed from all eternitie. If with reverence the causes hereof be

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searched and inquired, the Holie Ghost will answer, That good it was to David thus to be humbled: That profitable it was not onely to Ezechias, but also to the whole Church of God after him, to come to the knowledge of his infirmitie; and of the agonye and battel which he susteined, fighting as it were against God's judgementes: That by Abraham's great obedience be we all instructed to obey God in all things which he commandeth, and to subjecte not onely our lustes and affections to his will reveled, but also our reason (appeare it never so probable.) With the which if we stand not satisfied, but quarreling with God, will or dare, in a blynd fury, ask to what purpose commandeth, and speaketh he one thing and meaneth the contrary, that devilishe presumption shall fall down from the clouds, and break downe for ever the frantick heads of such vile slaves of proud Lucifer. And therefore be ye warned, for vengeance is prepared for all such unreverent reasoners in God's perfect (but yet profound) judgementes, as ye declare yourselves to be, in this which followeth:—

"If God (say you), in respect of his reveled will, wold not that Adam should falle, but in respecte of his secrete will he wold Adam should falle, then did God will two contraries; which is impossible."

To the A. Answere: Impossible we confesse it to be, that contrarietie should be in that will, which in itself is simple and one. But how shall you be able to prove, that God in reveling his will to Adam had none other purpose nor will, but onely that Adam should not falle? Because, say you, he said, "Thow shalt not eate." I answer, and so said he to Abraham, "Thou shalt take and offer thy sonne in sacrifice." And yet we knowe that the contrarie had he determined. "O (crye you) God abhorreth a double heart, which speaketh one thing and thinketh another; and yet ye abhorre not to charge God with that which he can not abide in his creatures; that is, that he should speak one thing, as that Adam should not offend, and will the contrarie, as that Adam should offend." Answer: God, if his

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good pleasure be, touch your heartes with such unfeined repentance, that you may understand how horrible be these blasphemies, which thus in your furious blindnes you spew forth against God's supreme Majestie. For, before I have said, they are not spoken against us, for no such doctrine do we teach nor affirme, as that of which you gather these blasphemies; and albeit we did, yet it were as easie for us to dissolve and unlouse such devilish knottes, as by instruction of your father you knit to trippe the soules of the simple, and as it is for the fote of the valiant and strong man to burst asondre the spider's webbes which the venemous spider maketh to catch the impotent flies and feble gnattes.

And now, lest that you should glorie as thogh your reasons yet stoode sure, let us trie and examine every member apart. God abhorreth (say you) a double heart, which speaketh one thing and thinketh another. I answer, That as God is a spirit, and hath neither heart nor bodie like as man hath, so must not his words, cogitations, and thoghtes, be compared to ours: for as we be corrupte liers and vaine, so where we do speak one thing and think another, we do meane deceate, fraud, and destruction to our brother, to whome we promise trueth, fidelitie, and conservation to our power: But God, according to the puritie and perfection of his godlie nature, in speaking to his creatures, and in creating of them, must not absolutely have respect to them, but also to his owne glory; for what reason is it that God of nothing shall make that creature by whome his glorie shall not be manyfested? And therefor in speaking to Adam, and in giving a lawe to him, God had respecte to his eternall counsell and purpose, as before we have spoken, and hereafter shall rehears. But still crye you, that yet we burden God with that which he can not abyde in his creatures; that is, that he should speak one thing, as that Adam should not have fallen, and that he ment the contrarie. For answer, I ask of you, if ye will binde God to that lawe which he hath imposed to his creatures? And if ye will leave

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none other libertie to God his soveraigne majestie, then his lawe hath permitted to men subjecte to the same: and if ye dare promise to your selves that authoritie over God, girde your loines, and play the strong champions: prepare your seates, appoint your judges, cite, and adjourne him to appere at a fixed day, to render a reason, and make an accompte before you of his universall regiment; in which (no doubt) ye shall finde many thinges more repugnant to your reason then this. You think I mock you, in that I will you to cite and call God to an accompt: in verey deed I do; for as your blasphemie and pride is utterlie to be abhorred, so is your vanitie more worthie to be mocked, then your simplicitie in that case to be instructed. For what was he ever yet amongest the most ignorant Ethnicks so foolishe or so presumpteous, but that he did confesse that the workes and wonders of the supreme God, were exempted from all lawe and censure of man's judgement! But in your presence, God shall have no libertie to command, or forbid any thing to any of his creatures, but that he must nedes absolutely will the same; and for no cause or respecte may he will the contrarie, but that he shall have a double heart, he shall be a dissembler, (cursed be your blasphemie that causeth me thus to write,) and in him there shalbe contrarietie; this is the reverence which ye beare to God's infinite wisdome in all his workes, to the ground whereof ye can not atteine by your corrupt reason, that you burst forth in scoffing, mocking, and blasphemie.

The Adversaries judge of God's majestie according to their blind reason.

But yet to come more nye to the mater: I denie that justly you can conclude any contrarietie to be in God, albeit that to Adam he said, Thou shall not eate, and yet in his eternall counsell he had determined that Adam shoulde eate; neither yet (I say) can you be able to prove that he spoke one thing and willed the contrarie, because he pronounced this sentence: "In what so ever day thow shalt eate of this tree, thou shalt dye the death," but rather we may most assuredly conclude, that both the precept, and the penaltie threatned to ensue the violation of it, was a plaine and manifest declaration what be-

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fore was concluded in God's eternall counsell, as also that they were the meanes, by the which the secret will and good purpose of God toke effecte amongest men and was notified unto the world; for if God had not before appointed the falle and the remedie for the same, he had not imposed upon him a lawe, the transgression whereof should bring death; but should have suffered him to live without such feare and bondage, as we shall do when victorie shalbe given over death, which is the sting of sinne, and over sinne also which had his power by the lawe. And therefor, I say, that God's commandement forbidding Adam to eate, and the punishment of death denounced, if he did eat, were nothing contrary to his secret will: but were the very wayes appointed by his infinite wisdome, by the which he had determined that his secrete will concerning the mysterie of man's redemption should be notified and put in execution. And albeit that such as in God's eternall election finde no sweetenes nor comfort, fret, fume, storme, and rage at the onelie mention of it: yet neither dare we nor can we conceale and suppres God's eternall trueth, infinite love, and incomprehensible liberalitie towardes us: neither eshame we to confesse our owne wretched povertie, and just condemnation, into the which oure father Adam willingly wrapped him self and us. And therefor we constantly affirme, that as we were elected in Christ Jesus before all tymes, so it behoved us in time to fall in Adam, to the end that the bright glorie of God, might after shyne and appere before men and angels. Prove now, if you can, contrarietie betwixt God's will reveled, and his secret will. How vaine is the difference which you put between his will and his permission, we shall shortly examine in this which foloweth.

THE ADVERSARIE.

THE 39TH SECTION.

The reason where with you go aboute to persuade this to be of trueth is very meane: If a man (say you) could do any thing contrary to God's will, then were not God omnipotent, wherefor, whatsoever is done, it must nedes be

The 1 Argument.

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done by the will of God, whose will no man can resist. I answere, that God is goodness itself, his will is alwayes good, yet man is apt to do and may do evill contrary to God's will, notwithstanding God remaineth omnipotent, suffering man to do evill whome he might destroy before he did the evill, if so it pleased him. Pharao obstinatly refused to obey the will of God, yet was God omnipotent, for if God had list he might have destroied Pharao at the first, and the arrogant tyranne was well worthie to be destroyed; yet God used towards him, by littel and littel, such encreasse of punishement as he might therwith have been amended had not his malice been an impediment. Christ, as he witnesseth himself, would have gathered the Jerosolimitans together, as the hen her chickens, yet would they not. God wold that the Israelites should enter into the land of Canaan, and they wold not; wherefor they were carried back again through the wildernes where they perished. Againe, when God would not that they should enter, they wold nedes enter, and were put to flight of the Cananites. Thus we see plainely that many things be done contrary to the will of God, which shalbe more largely declared hereafter, where we shal shewe howe God often suffered many things which he would not; yet to maintein this untrueth, ye alledge that which is written in Exodus the 9th, "The Lord hardened the heart of Pharao." To the which I answer that which is written allmost in the end of the same chapter, "Pharao hardened his heart, he and his servants:" and that which is written in the 6th chapter of the first booke of the Kinges, "Wherefor should you harden your heartes, as the Ægyptians and Pharao hardened their heartes?" By these places I may prove as well that Pharao hardened his owne hearte, as you can prove that God made him hard-hearted by that other text; wherefor, to understand howe these places do aggre, we must note first, that al the children of Adam have a hard and wicked heart, untill they be mollified by the grace of God, as Jeremie witnesseth, saying, "Amongest al things living man hath the most deceatfull and stubborn heart!" and the Lord saieth, "that he will take the stonie heart from them, and give them a heart of flesh:" without they had a stonie heart, he could not take it from them. If Pharao had a stonie heart, as it doeth well appere, in that he tyrannously oppressed the people, afore Moyses spak unto him, then could it not be hardened more then a stone, afore it had bene mollified; which was not done, for he refused to knowe the Lorde, and set not his heart to God's miracles, but at the first meeting with Moises, said "I knowe not the Lord," therefor Pharao, willingly and wittingly did indure and retaine his hard, stife heart, notwithstanding he and his sorcerers were convict to grant the miracles to be done by God, in so much that he desired Moises and Aaron to pray for him, confessing his offence; but yet after that he was delivered from the present plague, he indured his heart, both he and his servants; so that, as the Apostle saieth, "when they knew God they glorified him not as God, neither were they thankfull," wherefor

Jere. 17.

Ezech. 36.

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they were left to their owne lewd mindes, which is the cause of hardening; for man, being left of God, is nothing els but a hard, obstinate, wicked creature, and conforme to this meaning do the ancient Doctors interprete this 8.
place, "God hardened Pharao's heart," that is to say, God suffered Pharao's heart to be hardened, as this, "Leade us not into temptacion," that is, Suffer us not to be ledde into temptation. So Job saieth, "God hath taken wisedom Job 39.
from the Estriche," that is, as it foloweth there, God hath not given her understanding. And of his friends, Job saieth, "Thou hast withholden their 9.
hearts from understanding," that is, Thou hast not given them understanding. Job 17.

And this manner of speaking is common in the Scriptures, not onely of God, but also of man, as these, "Nowe you have ridd the children of Israel Josue 22.
out of the hand of the Lorde," that is, You have not caused them to fall into the hand of the Lorde. The phrase of the Scripture being thus truely under- 10.
standed, the mater shalbe the easier; for seing that "God (as James saieth) tempteth no man," that is, to sinne, then did God neither harden the heart of Pharao, nor tempt him to do wickedly, but suffered him, and gave him over to the obstinate hard heart which he had already: and this is the greatest plague that chanced to man, to be left to his owne lewd mynd, as Saul, because he wold not obey the Lorde, he was left of God's good Spirit, and taken with an evill spirit, and then from thenceforth he became worse and worse; likewyse Joas king of Judah, because he wold not heare the voice of Zacharie the Prophet, he was left of God, slaine in his owne bed with his owne servants, and found unworthie to be buried in the sepulchers of the kings. And his sonne Amasias, because he refused to heare the prophet of the Lord, and 11.
sought counsel of the Edomites goddes, he was left of God, overcomme by the king of Israel, and afterwardes by treason his subjectes conspired against him and killed him. Thus we see that there can be no greater plague, then to be left to our selves, and to be destitute of the grace of God. As the earth 12.
can be no more gryveously punished then to lack the sunne and dewe, so the Lord doeth punish his vineyard, not wasting it himself, but taketh the hedge Esa. 5.
and raine from it, and suffereth it to be wasted and overtrode by others. So Job was plagued of God, onely by suffering him to be plagued, notwithstanding Job sayeth, "The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken," which is 13.
not to be understand that the Lord did take his goods, but onely suffered the Devil to take them. So the Lord punished his people, not that he touched them, "but I will hide my face from them, and will see what their end shall be, saieth the Lord." After the same maner oght that place, "God hardened the heart of Pharao," to be understand, that is, God suffered the heart of Pharao to be hardened, or left him in the hardnes of his heart; which appereth to be so of that which is written, Exod. the 10th chapter, "How long refusest 14.
thou to submit thy self unto me, to let my people go?" By this we see that the will of God was, that Pharao should let the people go. Secondly, in that

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Pharao did not submit himself to God, that his mynd was not conforme to
15. God's mynd. Thirdly, in that he refused to let the people go, it was his owne
16. dede and acte, and not God's; for if I should grant that it was God's will, that he should refuse to let the people go, then did he submyt himselfe to the will of the Lord; which is contrarie to the Word: then should God and he have bene both of one mynd. And the will of God is all wayes good and just, which you can not deny; then Pharao refusing to let the people go, did well and justly, forasmuch as it was God's will he should so do; wherfor Pharao oght not to be punished for this good and just dede. These and such like inconveniences can you not eskape, affirming Pharao's heart to have been actually indured of God.

ANSWER.

How meane that ever our reasons be, yet great cause we have to give thanks unto God, that ye in laboring with all your wittes to oppugne and obscure them, are yet compelled by the invincible grace of God's mercie, to justifie and illustrate the same; which shall plainely appere by this your first answere, which you make concerning the omnipotencie of God. Forasmuch, say you, "as God is goodnes itself, his will is alwayes good, yet man is apte to do and may do evill, contrary to God's will, notwithstanding God remaineth omnipotent, suffering man to do evill, whome he might destroy afore he did evill, if so pleased him:" and so ye bring forth the example of Pharao. I will not take in all points that advantage of you which I think you wold take of us most gladly, if you had us in such a streit as you have here concluded your selves; for if man may do evil contrary to God's will, so that God for no respect, for no end nor purpose, wold that such wickednes should be done, (for thus you must applie your words, or els ye say nothing against us); and yet that it pleaseth God not to destroy the wicked doer, but to suffer him to do evill, whome he might have destroied before the iniquitie committed; what shall, I pray you, ensue, but that either there shall be in God two contrary willes, one that willeth no wickednes in no wyse to be done; and another that suffereth wickednes, yea, and that is pleased to suffer and not to destroye the wicked man; or els, that there

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is a power above God's will, which compelleth him to suffer that which he wold not? one of these two can you not avoyd.

But I will dealle more favorably with you. Ye grant that God suffereth the evill, and that he might destroy the wicked man before iniquitie be committed, if so pleased His godlie majestie and wisdome. Do ye not consider that in this your confession, is no less conteined then any of us hath either written or spoken in this mater? for if God's omnipotencie remaineth, as no doubt it doth, so perfecte and whole that he may not impede onely wicked men of their interprises, but also that he may destroy even Sathan him self, if so pleased His eternal wisdom, what can be concluded, but that God willingly, for causes knowen to his wisedome alone, permitteth and suffereth things to be done, which after he will most justly punish? And thus (I say) doth your own answer and confession justifie our doctrine. For we do not teach that wickednes pleaseth God, in so farre as it is wickednes; neither yet that God willeth sinfull actes to be done, in so farre as they are sinfull, without any other further respecte: But we say, that as the actions and cogitations of the godly please God in Christ Jesus, because they are wroght and inspired by the power of his Holie Spirit, so that the good workes, as patience, justice, chastitie, and suche like, God will to be done, even because the workes be good and agreable to his owne nature: so say we, that God will, yea, and hath determined the works that be most wicked to be done for the purposes and causes concluded in His eternal counsel. Which thing if we be able to prove by the evident Scriptures of God, then ought you not to be offended althogh we preferre God to man, and His plaine trueth to your sophisticall evasions and colde interpretations of such places. To the 1 & 2.

For the avoiding the prolixitie of many, I will choose but two at the most, plaine and most evident. Is it not a great and horrible sinne that a fals prophete shall come and deceave the people? Yea, is it not likwyse sin to deceave the prophet? and yet God feareth not to attribut to him self both the one

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and the other; for no fals prophete doth arise, whom God for one of two purposes doth not stirre up, to witt, either to trie and examine the constancie and fidelitie of his servantes, or els to execute and blind those, who delite not in the veritie. For Moises witnesseth in these words, "If in the middest of thee there arise a prophet, and he shall give unto thee a signe, and yet should say, Let us go and serve strange goddes; heare him not, for the Lord your God tempteth you, whether that ye will love your Lord your God with all your heart, and in all your sowle." If it be the proper office of God to trye, tempt, and examin the heartes of his people, and of his chosen children, as the Holie Ghost affirmeth it to be; then must you confess that the fals prophetes be God's instrumentes appointed for that purpose. And that God deceaveth the fals prophet,
Ezec. 14. Ezechiel in plaine wordes doeth witnes, saying, "And if the prophet deceaved speak the word, I the Lord have deceaved that prophet; and I will extend my hand against him, and I will root him out from the midest of my people Israel." And the same doeth yet God himself more plainly vendicate to him self in that solemned proclamation, made in the eares of the
3 Reg. 22. prophet Micheas, and boldly by him pronounced in audience of two kings, Achab and Josaphat, as followeth, "Who shall deceave Achab to us? or who shall persuade him that he may passe up and fall in Ramath Galaad? And there passed out a certen spirit, and standing before the Lorde, he said, I shall deceave or persuade him. And the Lord said, Whereunto? And he said, I shall passe out, and be a lying prophet [spirit] in the mouthes of all his prophetes. He said therefor, Thou shalt deceave him, and thou shalt bring it to passe: goe forth therefor, and do even so. And lo, God hath given a lying spirit in the mouthes of al these prophetes, and the Lord hath spoken evill upon them." If, to make a publique proclamation to call for one to deceave, to send him forth, and to give him power to do the same, be onely a simple permission, and a thing which God suffereth against his will, lett the indifferent man judge.

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I think that no man will deny the incest of Absalome openly committed, not onely to be sinne, but also to be so execrable and detestable a facte, that nature itself (be it never so corrupt) must nedes abhorre it: and yet, I pray you, what saith God that he wil do in that behalf, let the prophet witnes. "Thus sayeth the Lord God, (sayeth Nathan,) Behold, I shall rayse evill against thee forthe of thine own house, and I shall take thy wyves, and give them to thy neighbour, who shall slepe with them in the sunne. Thou didest that facte secretly: but I shall do this thing openly before all Israel." Let the vehemencie of the words which here be spoken, be noted, and be judges your selves whether your interpretation be tollerable: He saith not, "I shal suffer evil to come upon thee," but plainly he saieth, "I shall raise up evil against thee." And therwith not content, he saieth, "I shall take thy wyves," and to put the mater out of all controversie, he addeth, "and I shall give them to thy neighbour, yea, and that will I do openly." If, to raise up, to give, and to do, be to permitt onely the thing which He will not, we must confesse our selves ignorant of the phrases of the Holie Ghost. This same might I prove by Job, by Nabuchadnezer, by Salmanasar, by Cyrus and divers others; which, for brevities saik I passe over: one I will recite, which I trust shall be so plaine that the Devill himself by no subtiltie shalbe able to obscure the light of the trueth. Was there ever any facte since the beginning more wicked, if the instrumentes shall be considered, as was the cruell and ignominious death of the Sonne of God? And yet what doeth the Holie Ghost attribut to God in that case? "Him," saieth Peter, "being crucified, did you kill, after that you had taken him by the handes of the wicked men, being given by the appointed counsell and foreknowledge of God." And after, "They have verely convened against thy holie Sonne Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, Herode together and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles together and the people of Israell, to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsell have decreed to be donne." Advise well what

Act. 2.

Act. 4.

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ye will answer, the wordes are plaine, and so plaine that you can not avoide them; for he that sayeth, The wicked men did whatsoever God did foresee and before determined, yea, what his hand, that is, his power, and counsell, that he had before decreed to be done, meaneth a thing of more greater importance then he that saieth, They did what God permitted and suffered to be done.

Consider further that you have not to do with men, as with Augustine, Calvine, and us, whome you call Careless libertines, but with the Holie Ghost speaking in Peter, and in the whole Church of Jerusalem, yea, speaking in the whole Scriptures. For if not to spare his Sonne, but to give him to the deathe for us, to cause our sinnes to make warre against him, to punishe him for the same, in suche sorte that of all men he was most contemptible for a season: if, I say, to give to death, to strike, to wound, and punish, be actions, then did not God onely suffer his Sonne to die, to be wounded, to be smytten, and to be punished, without any will that any such thing should come to passe; but He, in his eternal counsell, appointed the time, the place, and the persons, when, where, and by whome he should suffer the same. For of love he gave him to suffer the trewe death, that we by him might receave life; the time could not be changed, and the cuppe which the Father had given him he must needes drinck, as in the figures was foreshadowed, and by his own people and Gentiles, as the Prophetes and David had before spoken. If in God's counsell, God's gift, God's hand, and eternall purpose, before decreing all things to come to passe in the deathe of his Sonne, ye can see nothing but a bare and simple permission, I can not cease to affirme, that as by falsifying such plaine Scriptures, you labor to take from the Churche of God their most singuler comfort left to us in Christ's death, so do you walk in darknes, and in the same ye shall perishe except spedely you repent. How one and the same work, in so far as it procedeth from God, is most just, most profitable, and most mercifull: and yet as it procedeth from the instruments

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most profane, most wicked, damnable to themselves, and most cruell, I have aboundantly declared, and after, as occasion shalbe offered, shall touch by God's grace, so much as may instructe the sober mynd, if it be ignorant: and also to put silence to your venemous mouthes, be they never so impudent.

Because the Scriptures, which you heape together, be either plainely repugning to your error, or els make nothing for probation of the same, I will so shortly as I can go through them, onely noting wherin you abuse the wordes and mynd of the Holie Ghost. The wordes of our Master, spoken in the 23d chapter of Mathewes Gospell, serve nothing for your purpose; for in that place our Saviour Christ Jesus speaketh as he that is the messinger of his heavenlie Father, and declareth that the Jewes obstinatly, even from their original, had resisted God speaking by his Patriarks, Prophets of old, and now last by his Sonne. He neither speaketh nor meaneth what Will God had to save his Elect, neither yet that Will which he had to gather and seperate them from the world, but onely (as Moises and Elias had before spoken) declareth what fidelitie and diligence God had used in the generall election and vocation of that people from time to time; and yet what had bene their obstinate rebellion and unthankfull defection from him, by the which they killed the Prophetes, and should kill his Sonne, sent of God to call them from iniquitie. What hath this to do, I say, with that Will, by the which God in his eternall counsel hath made division betwixt the Elect and the Reprobate? If ye dare say, that Christe in that place meaneth, in that he wold have gathered those murtherers, and sonnes of murtherers, as he doth witnes he doth gather his chosen flock, himself will convicte you of a lie. For he affirmeth the same to the Scribes and Pharisies, to whome principally he spake in that place, that they were not of his shepe, and that therfor they could not be gathered to his folde; that they were not of God, and therfor that they could not heare his voice; that he did not pray for the world, and therefor they could never be

To the 3.

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united to God. You must declare howe that God wold that those Israelites, whose carcases fell in the wildernes, should entre into the land promised. If you say, by any other will then by his generall precepte given, that they should go and possesse it, ye shall lack the testimony of the Holie Ghost. I have declared causes most just and most sufficient, why God shall command that which is just, right, and laudable, albeit that man neither can perfourme his commandementes, neither yet that it was God's eternall will and counsell that all men should so do. And further, I have declared just causes why God doth call many to repentance and felicitie, and yet that he chooseth a certen to attein therto, and entre the same. And so, I say, ye must prove that God did otherwayes will them to entre into the land then by his general commandement, before you be able to prove that any thing is done against the eternal and immutable will of God. I can prove that God's will was so plaine reveled, that none of them should entre into the land promised; that it behoved the whole army to be removed frome place to place til they were all consumed; yea, further, I can prove that Moises himself could not obteine that priviledge to entre in, nor the people, albeit that in prayer moste earnestly he required the same. Prove, if you can, that ever God reveled his will to any particular persons (Josua and Caleb only excepted) that they should entre in it.

And then may you say, that either God did change his will and purpose, or els that some thing was done against his will, which he did permitte but not will. I will answer, there is no better argument to prove that God hardened the heart of Pharao, then that same which you adduce to prove that Pharao did harden his owne heart, and that God doeth suffer it to be hardened, but doeth not will it. This ye write: "All the children of Adam have a hard and wicked heart, untill they be mollified by the grace of God, as Jeremie witnesseth, saying, 'Amongest all things living, man hath the most deceatfull and stubborne heart.'" Your libertie or ignorance in citing the

To the 4, 5, 6, & 7.

Jere. 17.

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Prophetes wordes passe measure: "And the Lord saieth, that he will take away the stony hearte from them, and give them a hearte of flesh." No stronger argument nor reason I require to confute your Error, then the same which you alledge for the establishment thereof; for if by nature all be equall, and that onely grace maketh the difference, then we demand and ask, whether that grace be given to some and denied to others, and that by permission and sufferance, as you speak; or if it be the determined will of God, that his grace and mercie by Christ Jesus shalbe frelie communicated with some, and that the same shall most justlie be denied to others, albeit the causes to us do not appere during the time of this our mortalitie. If you dare say, that God's will in taking away the stonie heart and in giving the fleshie heart, be nothing elles but onely a permission and sufferance, without the operation and will of his Spirit, then may you reason, that in the hardening of Pharao and of the rest of the reprobat, there is nothing elles but a bare permission, without any efficacie of God's Spirit. But if it be God that worketh in us the good will and perfourmance of the same, and that he hath mercie upon whome he listeth, then is it likewise that God hardeneth whom he will. Mark and note the wordes of the Apostle: He saith not he hardeneth whome he permitteth, and doth suffer to be hardened, but plainely he saieth, "that he hardeneth whome he will." The Apostle sawe none other cause why mercie was shewed to some, and others were left in indurations, but God's will. Trew it is, that the reprobat of nature have, and from their mother's wombe doth tary with them, the mater of their induration. But the question is, What is the cause that that pestilent mater is removed from some, and why dothe it remaine with others? If you answere, Because some receave grace offered, and some refuse it, ye have said nothing, as more plainely I have before declared; for alwayes we ask the cause, Why is the will of the one obedient to God, and why is the will of the other rebellious, considering that all by nature are equall? Althogh

Ezech. 36.

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that you travell to confounde the heaven and the earth, yet shall ye be broght to this principall, that God hath mercie upon whome he will, and whome he will he maketh hard hearted. And therefor as of his mercie and free grace, God worketh willingly in the one, with his Spirit, softnes and the feeling of mercy, so doth his just judgements and just wrath against sinne, conceaved by the spirit of Sathan, work in the others hardnes, obstinacie, and the sense of his wrath. Your reason, affirming that Pharao had a stonie heart before that Moises spake unto him, then could not it be hardened more then a stone afore that it was mollified; this your reason, I say, is more then foolish: for I suppose that you be not so brutishe, that you wil affirme that the heart of any tyranne, at any tyme in naturall hardnes, I meane to grope and fele, is comperable to the hardnes of a stone; but that is a figurative speach, by the which is declared the unchangeable hardnes of man's heart, as touching the naturall power of the same. For as the stone by itself can never come to any softnes of fleshe, so can never man by any gift which nature hath of itself, come to that humilitie and obedience which is acceptable before God. But doth it therof insue, that one man is not, nor can not be more cruell then an other; yea, that one and the same may not procede from evil to worse, and by contempt of grace, make himself more hard and more hard, althogh his heart was never fully mollified. I think you will not affirme the contrarie, for the Holie Ghost giving this exhortation: "This daye, if you heare his voice, harden not your heartes," doth confirme my affirmacion, which is, that men procede from hardnes to hardnes, yea, from one sinne to an other, till their sinnes become inexcusable, and so finally irremissible; because that obstinately they refuse grace offered, as Christ doth witnes in these wordes: "If I had not come and spoken unto them, they should not have sinne; but now have they nothing to cloke their sinne, for they have sene and hated not onelie me, but also my Father." No man wilbe so fond as to affirme, that the Jewes, before Christ's

Psal. 95.

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preaching and miracles, were cleane without sinne; but the contempt of grace did so augment and increase their sinne, that it became inexcusable. Even so say I, that Pharao did harden his owne heart frome time to time, becoming more unthankfull unto God, and more cruell to his people. And the founteine of this induration and hardnes I confesse to have bene borne with him; and that to raige against God's people, he needed no impulsion of God's parte, but rather a brydle to impede his fury.

But yet the question is not resolved as before I have noted, for still we ask, Why was not that fountein shut up? Why was not the naturall venim purged and his heart mollified? Searche where you list, ye shall fynd none other reason nor cause for the which the subsequent induration of Pharao did principallie procede, but that God, in his eternall counsell, for causes known to his wisedom alone, had most justly denyed to communicate his graces effectually with him, but had raysed him up to have his power shewed forth in him. And so God did harden Pharao's hearte, not by permission onely, but willingly withdrew his Spirit from him, as before is said.

Wonder it is, that amongest the ancient Doctors ye will seke patrocinie or defense in this mater, seing it is a statute amongest you, that ye will beleve nor admit the wordes nor authoritie of no writer in any mater of controversie, but all things you will have decided by the plaine Scripture. And truly I am not contrary to your mynd in that case, so that you understand that ye will not admitt the authoritie of man against God's plaine trueth; neither yet that you will beleve man any further, then that he proveth his sentence by God's evident Scriptures. If you had produced any Doctor who had confirmed his interpretation by the plaine Worde of God, of reason I ught to have answered, either by the same, or by some other Doctor of equall authoritie, or els to have improved his interpretation by the plaine Scriptures. But seing that ye produce none, ye leave me at greater libertie; and yet I will To the 8, 9, 10.

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shewe you the mynd of one Doctor, comparable to any that ever wrote before him, either in the Latin or in the Greke Churche, I meane of Augustine, who writing against Julian, the apostate, and against Manacheus, who did affirme the self same thing that you do, to witte, That God was a passive God, that is, he did suffer all evill, and that against his will, but he did work none; against him (I say) he thus writeth: "Wilt thou say (saieth Augustine to Julian) that the wicked that be given over to their owne desires, are to be understand onely left by God's suffering, but not compelled to sinnes by power; as thogh that the Apostle had not joyned the suffering and power of God together, where that he saieth, 'If God, willing to shewe wrath and to declare his power, suffered in great patience the vesselles of wrath prepared to destruction,' which of these two, saiest thou, is written? And also, if the Prophet do erre and shall speak, 'I, the Lord, have deceaved him:' Is this suffering, or is it power?" And after adducing the same which we before have alledged of Achab, he addeth, "Did God these things ignorantly, or doth he any thing, judgeing, or doing rashly or unjustly? God forbid it. It is not without cause that it is said, 'Thy judgementes are a great deapth;' it is not in vaine that the Apostle crieth out, 'Oh, the height and deepenes of God's judgementes.'" And after, in the same place, expounding these wordes: "And lead us not into temptation," after that he hath affirmed that God giveth over some for just causes to their owne lustes and blyndnes, as he gave over Roboam to beleve the fals and foolishe counsell of the young men, he saith, "All these things doth God worke by wonderous and unspeakable meanes, who knoweth howe to worke his just judgementes, not onelie in the bodies, but also in the heartes of men; he who maketh not the willes evill, but yet he useth them as he will, seing that he can will nothing unjustly."

Lib. 3. contra Jul. ca. 6.

Thus far have I alleged unto you the mynd of one Doctor in this our controversie; when ye shall bring forth the mynd of any so well grounded upon Scriptures as he doth this his sen-

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tence, I promyse to answer, if I can. I am not ignorant that divers of the doctors, (yea, and Augustine himself,) in some places may seme to favor your opinion at the first sight. But if their wordes, in one place, be compared with their plaine mynd, and with the scope of their disputation, in other places, it shall plainely appere, that none that live this day do more plainely speak against your Error then some of them have written. The places of Job, manifestly and in plaine wordes, fight against you. For it is said in the one place, "Thou hast excluded their heart from wisedom, and therfore this mater shall not be to their praise;" and in the other, "God hath taken wisdom from the Estrich, and hath not given understanding unto her." Dare you affirme, that in these wordes there is nothing but a bare permission of God's parte? Is there no difference betwixt away-taking and suffering to be taken away? If any difference be betwixt these two maner of speakings, "God giveth wisdome," and "God taketh away wisdome," then is your interpretation foolishe and absurd. Neither yet is there any phrase of Scripture, understand it as you please, that can make God to call back that sentence which he hath pronounced, to witt, that he hath raysed up Pharao to be an example to all generations folowing, what shall be the ende of those that obstinately resist God: who albeit he tempt no man to sinne by the power of his Spirit, yet, as before I have proved, he justly giveth them over to the inordinat lustes of their own corruption; yea, he giveth them over into the hands and power of Sathan, to be pricked and stirred forward to all iniquitie, that their damnation may be just, and also, that his vengeance, justly deserved, may the more sodenly falle upon them. The mynd of Saint James is onely to bring men to the right examination and triall of themselves, lest that by flattery they beginne to seke the originall cause of their sinne in another then in themselves. And yet doth that nothing impede, but that God in his maner (which alwayes is just) doth harden the heartes of those whome before he had reprobated.

Job 17.

Job 39.

To the 10.

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To the 11, 12, 13, 14, 15

We confesse that no greater plague can chance unto man, then that he be left to his own lewde mynd, for then of him can procede no good nor permanent frute. But as the earth lacking rayne, dewe, and moisture, must nedes be barren, and so at length subject to malediction; so must men destitute of God's grace, with Saul, Achab, and others, procede from evil to worse, till finalie they come to confusion. But were it not that it is your commone custome to belie the Holy Ghost, I wold wonder how that you coulde be so impudent, as to affirme that the Lorde doth punishe his vineyarde, not waisting it himself, but taketh the hedge and rayne from it, and suffereth it to be wasted and troden of others. And that Job was plagued of God, onely in suffering him to be plagued. Assuredly this your affirmation declareth in you either a most brutall ignorance, or els an impudencie more then manifest. Ye will not deny that Israel and Juda were the pleasant vineyard, sometymes planted by God's own hand: So doth he himself affirme; and doth God no more in their destruction, but onely looke upon them as an ydle and unwilling sufferer upon the tragedie and myserable calamitie? He himself doth witnes the contrary, for he

Isa. 5.

saith, "I will plainely declare unto you what I will do to my vineyard; I shall take away the hedge of it, I shall break downe the wall, that it may be troden upon: I shall make it waste: and shall also so forbid the clowdes that they shall neither send doune rayn nor moistur upon it." Note, and mark well, I besech you, God here speaketh nothing of permission, but all together of working, to witt, of taking away and of breaking downe. And how, I pray you, came that fearfull destruction

Isa. 3.

to passe? "The Lord God of hostes (saieth the Prophet Isaiah) will take away from Jerusalem, and from Judah, the stay and the strength, even all the stay of bread, and all the stay of water; the strong man, and the man of warre, the judge, and the prophete, and the prudent, and the aged, the captaine of fiftie, and the honorable, and the counseller, and the cunning artificer, and the eloquent man: And I will appoint children (note

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well what God speaketh) to be their princes, and babes shall rule over them," &c. And after, "The Lord shall bring upon thee, upon thy people, and upon thy father's howse, the dayes that have not come from the day that Ephraim departed from Juda, even the King of Asshur," &c. "In that day shall the Lord shave thee with a raser that is hyred," &c. The Lord himself doth further confesse, that the King of Asshur "is the rodd of his fury, and the axe in his hand." He sayeth, to an hypocriticall nation will he send him: "And I give him commandemente against that people which hath deserved my indignation. I will give him charge to take away, to rive and to part the spoile." And further, in the same place, God doth acknowlege the grevous punishment and myserable destruction of Jerusalem to be his owne work. For thus speaketh the Prophet: "But when the Lord hath accomplished all his work upon Mount Zion and Jerusalem, I will visit the frute of the proude heart of the King of Asshur, and his glorious and proude lookes," &c.

Isa. 7.

Isa. 10.

If these wordes may be attributed to him, who onely sufferreth and doth not himself effectually work, let indifferent men judge. And yet speaking more plainely, he saieth, "I am the Lord, and there is none other: I forme the light, and creat darknes: I make peace, and creat evill, (that is, punishement and plagues for sinne): I, the Eternall, do all these thinges." To whom the Prophet Amos dothe aggre, using these same wordes: "Or shall there be evill in a citie (saith he), and the Lord hath not done it?" The Lord speaking by his Prophetes Jeremie and Ezechiel, saith, "I shall send and take all the nations of the north, and Nabuchadnezer, my servant, the King of Babylon, and I shall bring them upon this land. I shall kindle the fire, augment and multiplie the flame, and I shall prophane (that is, I shall make commone) my sanctuary." If he that gathereth his warryors, that leadeth and conducteth them, yea, that giveth them strength, agilitie, and good success; that putteth the sweard of his vengeance into their hand,

Isa. 45.

Amos. 3.

Jere. 25.

Ezec. 24.

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that commandeth them to strike and to spare none, doth nothing elles but suffre, I must confesse myself neither to know nor to understand what it is to do, or what it is to work. Your bold impudencie affirming that Job was plagued of God, onely by suffering him to be plagued, is intollerable. Doth not God provoke, as it were, Sathan to trye his servant Job? saying, "Hast thow not considered my servant Job, how none is lyke unto him in the earth, an upright and just man, one that feareth God, and escheweth evill?" And after that Sathan, upon that occasion, had defaced to his uttermost the integritie and justice of Job, affirming, that easye it was to feare and serve God, seing that all thinges were prosperous and fortunate in his house and familie; God, first by expresse wordes, giveth to him power over all that perteined unto him, and thereafter he giveth over the body of Job to the tyrannye of Sathan, his life onely being reserved. Was this, I pray you, onely to plague Job, by suffering him to be plagued? Doth the father which commandeth his childe to be beaten in his presence, and commandeth how many stripes he shall receave, nothing elles but suffer his childe to be beaten? Or is he not rather the chief cause, as that he is the chief commander, why his child is punished?

Job 1.

To the 13.

O, say you, "But God did not take his goods, but onely suffered the Devill to take them, and so God did not punishe his people. For he touched them not, but hid his face from them to see their end." Albeit your vanitie trouble me a littell, yet must it nedes returne upon your owne heades, to your shame. This is a goodly reason, God by himself tooke not Job's goods from him: therefor he did nothing but suffer them to be taken. And God's owne hand did not touch Israell nor Juda: therefor was he but onely a sufferer, and no worker of their punishment. I will make the like reason and argument. God by himself gave no goodes to Job: therefore did he nothing but suffer Job to be enriched. Another, No visible hand was sene to touch Elimas the sorcerer: therefor did God onely suffer him to be

Act. 13.

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blinded. If ye will affirme the former, to witt, That God did nothing but suffer Job to be enriched; not onely shall Job himself testifie against you, but even Sathan, althogh he be a lier, and the father of lies, yet in that case shall he convince you of a most impudent lie, for he sayeth, "Hast thow not made an hedge aboute him, and aboute his house, and about all that he hath on every side? Thou hast blessed the work of his hands, and his substance is encreased in the land: But stretche oute now thy hand, and touche all that he hath to see if he will not blaspheme thee to thy face." And if ye will say, that God did onely suffer Elimas to be blynded; then shall the Holie Ghost, speaking in Sainct Paule, convict you, for he saieth, "Behold the hand of the Lord is upon thee, and thou shalt be blynd, and shall not see the sunne for a tyme." And thus shall you have God, man, and the devill, to rebuke your vanitie. Be ashamed, repent, and give glory unto God, who feareth not to confesse that all instrumentes in heaven, earth, or in hell, be his roddes, his sword, and his hand, by the which he correcteth, he punisheth, he trieth, delivereth, and saveth, according to His eternal counsell and purpose.

To prove absurdities and inconveniences (as ye terme them) to follow our doctrine, thus you reason: "If I should grant that it was God's will, that he should refuse to let the people go, then did he submit himself to the will of the Lord: then should God and he have been both of one mynd: And the will of God is alwayes good and just." Then Pharao, "refusing to let the people go, did well and justly, forasmuch as it was God's will that he should so do; wherfore Pharao oght not to have bene punished for this good and just dede." And thus, in conclusion, ye affirme, that "these inconveniences we can not eskape." I have before sufficiently declared, howe that no wicked man committing iniquitie hath any respecte or mynd to obey God's holie will, either secrete, either yet reveled, but, following their owne rage and inordinate lustes, doth make as it were plaine resistance to God; and therefore, howsoever they be compelled To the 16.

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to serve God's eternall purpose, yet do they never obey him in their owne heartes, but obstinatly they do rebell against his blessed will reveled. And therefor, as there is no conformitie nor aggrement betwixt the holy will of God and their pervers and malicious will, so are they subject to just damnation for their rebellion and disobedience. And thus, taking from you the ground and foundation wherupon you think yourselves moste assuredly to stand, I might suffer your vain building to fall into confusion. But partly for the instruction of the simple reader, and partly to winne some of you (if so please God) from these horrible blasphemies, I purpose in this place to declare the difference betwixt the holie will of God and the wicked will of men; and why it is that the worke of God is most just, and the worke of the instruments unjust and evill; reserving the rest to better opportunitie.

The will of God must not be restreined to those thinges which externally we see done, or hear to have bene done. But God's will must be extended to those endes for the which God worketh, and causeth to be wroght, all thinges from the beginning; to witt, for the manifestation of his owne glory, for the profit and salvation of his Elect children, and for the execution of his just judgementes; either for a tyme to correct his chosen, or els for ever to punishe the stubborne and disobedient of the reprobate sorte. Becaus that I suspect no man so foolishe as that he will deny the will of God working to these ends to be most just, most holy, and most perfecte in itself, I will labor for no probation of that parte. But because the instrumentes by whome God worketh be divers, we must first inquire and knowe, What instrumentes they be that obey God's will, and therefor by him are reputed just workers; and what they are that obey not his will, and so, whatsoever they do, are reputed inobedient. Onely those instruments do obey God's will, who, having his will clearly reveled unto them, do studie and indevour themselves to obey, accomplish, and fulfill the same, and that of very love, free mynd, and zeale to obey his godlie Majestie. The frutes

The cause and endes of things that be wroght.

Who obey God, who obey not God.

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and workes of these instruments, howsoever man doth judge of them, doth God approve, yea, even albeit they appere to repugne to mercy, or to his lawe written. For the Israelites were delivered frome theft by God's will reveled, albeit they spoyled and robbed (under the cloke of borowing) the Egyptians of their substance. The maryners and the shipmasters being with Jonas, in that soden storme and tempest raised by God, were free from murther and sheding of innocent bloode, by God's will plainely reveled by the mouth of the Prophet. Jehu was not onely justified from all the suspition of treason which men might have gathered of his facte, but also from crueltie in killing those idolaters who manifestly declared themselves friendes to Baal; by that, that God did first revele his will unto him, sending his Prophet to anoynte him, and after approved his zeale, which he rewarded with temporall promise of the kingdom to continue in his posteritie to the fourth of his sede. Thus, I say, doth God justifie the workes of these instrumentes which obey his will reveled.

And so, I say, that they onely obey God, that knowing his will do studie to obey the same. But, contrary wyse, whosoever doth any thing ignorant of God's will, not knowing the will of God reveled, repugneth or doth contrary to the same, (howsoever he serveth God's eternall purpose), doth neither obey God, neither can he be excusable before God's justice: And that because in his work and fact, he looketh nothing to God's will, neither yet to the end and purpose which God respecteth. And hereof springeth and ariseth the difference betwixt the workes of God and the workes of man; yea, betwixt the workes of the godlie and the workes of the ungodlie. God worketh all his workes to manifest his glorie, his wisedome, his power, his mercie, goodnes, and justice. The godlie, moved by the Holie Spirit, worke their workes to give obedience unto God, to support their bretheren in their necessities at his commandement, and to punish vice according to his lawe. But the ungodly, carried headlonges by their own lustes, and by the fury of

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Sathan, to whose power they are committed, work all their workes to revenge themselves, to destroye such as they hate, and to promote their own entreprises, without any respect had to God, to his will, ordinance, or counsell.

One or two examples shall make this mater more sensible. The will, purpose, and counsell of God in punishing Job, was to trye his patience, and of the same to leave an example to all them that truely feare God to the end. And who dare deny this to be most reasonable and most just, that God, examining sharply one of his children, shall make him a scholemaster to all the rest? But what was the will and purpose of Sathan and of the Caldeans, by whome Job was punished? The will and purpose of Sathan is plainely reveled to have been, that by those afflictions he fully purposed to withdrawe Job from God's feare, and to cause him curse God to his face. The will of the Chaldeans is evident ynough, by the manifest malice of all such oppressers, who look to nothing but to satisfie their own covetous myndes by the possessions of others, which tyrannously and unjustly they by violence spoyle. And thus doth the diversitie of the myndes of the workers make the plaine difference betwixt their workes.

The will of the Caldeans against Job.

Another; God in expelling David from his kingdom, in giving his wives with great ignominie to be defiled by his own sonne Absolom, and in commanding Semei[1] to curse him, had respect to his owne justice, which can not suffer sinne unpunished, even in his derest children; thereby leaving example to all ages following, that such as willingly wold not suffre God's grevous plagues shall avoid manifest contempt of his holy commandementes. And this, I think, will all men confesse to be a work (in so farre as it is wroght by God) most just and most equall; for as God doth honor them who do honor him, so must they be contemned who contemne him. But what was the mynd of Achitophell, counseller of Absalom the incestuous adulterer, and of Semei the blasphemous curser? The one

Of David's trouble, Absalom, Semei, and Achitophel.

[1] In our present version, Shimei.—(2 Sam. xvi.)

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studied to make such hatred betwixt the father and the sonne as after should never be reconciled. The unnaturall and monsterous sonne, declaring himself mortall enemie to his father, according to the wicked counsell, thoght to bind unto him the heartes of the people. And Semei, willing to make David odious to all men, and to have broght him, if possible had bene, to uttermost desperation, powred forth the vennym which before lurked in his hidden, corrupte, and stinking stomock.

Of the diversitie in the worke of the death of Christe.

The same might I shewe in the precious death of the innocent Sonne of God; in which the great and unsearcheable love of God towardes us doth shyne; so that Christes death, in so farre as it was the work of God, proceded from love, from mercie, and justice. But touching the instruments whome God used in execution of the same, as in another place I have said, they looked nothing to God's counsell, but were altogether carried to iniquitie: some by avarice, some by pride and by ambition, some by malice, hatered, and envie; so that amongest them all, none was found that studied to obey God, nor his holy will reveled. And thus it is evident why the work of God in such cases is just and good, as it that is wroght in wisedom, mercie, and justice, and that for most just causes, purpose, and ende; and why the workes of wicked men (supposing that God in some respect will them) are yet unjust and repugning to his will, never done to obey him; and therefore are they and their workers subjecte to malediction, vengeance, and damnation, pronounced by God in his lawe against the workers of iniquitie.

Nowe, let us examine your reasons. "If it was God's will (say you) that Pharao should refuse to let the people go, then did he submit himself to the word of the Lord." I deny the consequent, for neither did Pharao knowe the holie will of God, neither did he submit himself to that which was commanded and reveled unto him. The will of God was, in that people to give an example and testimonie to the world, that the onely benediction of God was sufficient to give multiplica-

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tion and encrease to his Church, even against the determined fury of Sathan and of all wicked; that he wold give unto his Church, being afflicted, most joyful and most wonderous deliverance; and, finally, that no obstinate enemie of God's people (howsoever they seme to rage and triumphe) shal in the end escaip judgement and vengeance justly deserved. Do you think that Pharao either knew this will of God, either yet that he reteined the people in bondage for any of these endes? I think not. Then did he not submitt himself to God's will, but obstinately did resist so farre of God's will as was reveled unto him. And therfor, I say, that God and Pharao were of most contrary willes and most contrary mindes. God willing his name, his power, and his wisedome, to be preached and praised to the end, for the deliverance of his afflicted people; but Pharao willing to reteine in perpetuall bondage the people (whom God commanded him to set at fredome and libertie) to serve him as he should command. And therefor, albeit that wicked Pharao was an instrument by whom those things were broght to passe, yet were his workes neither well nor justly done; but tyrannously and most obstinatly did he fight against God, and therefor in the end most justly was he punished. Behold your spyder webbes, with less labor dissolved and burst, then (I am assured) you and your great captaine Castalio did spinne, knit, and weave the same, to your great shame and perpetuall condemnation, except that spedely you repent.

Now to the rest, which followeth in these words:—

The 30th Section.

The Adversarie.

The Third Argument.

As for the sentence which ye alledge, "God maketh hard-hearted whom he will, and of whom he will he hath mercie," this place hath bene very unre-
1. sonably wrested of some of you, so that therby you have burdened God to be the cause of condemnation, who at his pleasure receaveth or refuseth such as have either of paine or pleasure deserved nothing at all. God forbid that any man should conceave such a phantasie of God. But we must first learne how
2. God lightened all men that came into this world; which light who so refuseth, him the Lord by long sufferance, with bountifull benefites and fatherly cor-

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rections, doeth call to repentance. But if we, loving darknes better then light, will utterly refuse light, or after we have bene by the goodnes of God partakers of God's grace, do forsaik the covenant of the Lord, then hath he mercie on whom he will, and that for his own saik, and others he maketh hard-hearted, that is, he giveth them over to their own hearts lustes: So that the cause of their induration is not the will and pleasure of God, which doeth nothing without a just cause, but their obstinate wickednes, which will not be reformed. These suffer justly, and the other receave grace by the mercy of God, which may, when he will, have mercie on whom he will, and that besides his covenant. 3. 4.

ANSWER.

Because that nothing resteth to the end of this your book (your blasphemies and railing excepted) which is not sufficiently before answered, I intend onely to touch those things which you unjustly lay to our charges, and frankly confesse in what pointes you and we do manifestly dissent in opinion and doctrine. And first, I say, That most unjustly you accuse us, laying to our charge that we burden God to be the cause of condemnation, the which we all with one consent impute to man to sinne, and to the Devil, the first soliciter to sinne. And therfor, except that ye can note and evidently convict some one (or mo) of us that so hath written or affirmed of God, ye can not be purged from the horrible crime of unjust accusation and detestable sclander. To the 1.

We utterly dissent from you, that God lighteneth every man that commeth into this world in such sort as you affirme, that is, that he calleth all to repentance, and offereth light of salvation to all; so that God refuseth none except such as utterly refuse light, or such as have bene partakers of God's grace, and do forsaik the covenant of the Lord. For besides the evident testimonies of the Scriptures, the common experience from the beginning doth witnes, that God in that manner hath not illuminated every man. For how many do perish in their mother's bellies! How many sodenly die before their reason can judge of good and evill? How many are deprived of natural reason and understanding! Yea, how many To the 2.

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remaine wylde and brutishe, living like beastes and eating one another? How many do continewe all their life without any other knowledge of God then the visible creatures of God do teach them?—Which I think ye will not affirme to be sufficient illumination to provoke them to repentance, or to atteine to life. I pray you, What light had Esau refused when God pronounced this sentence, "The elder shal serve the younger?" upon the which the Apostle, as before we have declared, doeth conclude that ere the children had done either good or badde, the one was loved and the other was hated.

To the 3. That God doeth nothing without a just cause, most willingly we confesse: But that there is no justice in God, to the ground whereof your blind reason doeth not pearse, we constantly deny. And therfor we must nedes affirme, that to seke another cause of God's workes then his holy will is more then impietie. For the causes be knowen to his wisedom alone why some he hath chosen to life everlasting in Christe Jesus his Sonne, and why that others are left in perdition: the cause may be secrete (as Augustine speaketh), but unjust can it not be, because it procedeth from God's will, which is the perfecte rule of all justice and equitie. If that ye crye till that the mountaines resound againe, "The obstinat iniquitie of the reprobate will not be reformed, and that is the cause of their induration:" In fewe and sobre wordes we answere, That in man there is no wickednes which God may not reforme, if so be his godlie will and good pleasure.

To the 4. Albeit of these your wordes, "God may have mercie when he will, on whome he will, and that besides his covenante," some suspition may arise that greatly you do not esteme that inestimable benefite granted unto us in Christe Jesus his onely Sonne, yet will I so favorably interprete your wordes as I can. If ye understand, that such as this day be ignorant of God, ennemies to his trueth, and persecuters of his saintes, may sodenly, or after this, be called to the trew knowledge of that communion which is betwixt God and man by Christ Jesus, I

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do fully agree with you; for so was Abraham, so was Paule, and so were the Gentiles, who long did live without trew knowledge of God, and without (as touching their owne apprehension) the assurance of his covenant and league. But if you understand, that God can or will receave to mercie at any time such as he hath not elected to life everlasting in Christ Jesus his Sonne before all times, we utterly abhorre that error as a pestilence most perniciouse.

Now to that which followeth:

The Adversarie.

The 40th Section.

The Fourth Argument.

That place of the booke of the Kinges, "The Lord commandeth Semei to curse David," I understand so: Forasmuch as God is the author of all goodnes, and of no evill, he gave not a wicked mynd to Semei; but, willing to exercise his servant David under the crosse, and finding Semei a naughtie and evill mynded man, specially towards David, he gave him the bridell, which being left of God, he, by the intisement of the Devill, which was alredie in his heart, did curse David. And David being governed by the Spirit of God, did paciently suffer the wicked to curse him, hoping that God wolde turne his cursing into blessing. For this did David knowe, that without the permission and suffering of God, Semei could no more curse him then Balaam might curse the Israelites. It foloweth not therfor that God did effectually meane Semei to do the wicked dede, but onely suffered him. 1. Yet if we will seke to the litterall sense of this place, and affirm that God did effectually command Semei to curse David, then I must go that way to work with you. All that the Lord commandeth is just. 2. If it be just to command to curse, it is just to obey to curse, for the righteousnes of the dede is knowen by the righteousnes of the commandement; as it is unjust to obey an unjust commandement, so is it just to obey a just commandement; wherefor Semei obeying the commandement of God, which is just, did justly. 3. You wil say that Semei did not obediently, that is to obey God, but of an evill mynd cursed David. 4. I answer you, after your owne saying, that this was also the will of God that Semei should have an evill mynd, and not to please God cursed David; for you say that God gave him an evill mynd to curse David, wherfor in that he of a disobedient mynd cursed David, he was obedient to God; and as we have said, to obey God it is just. I pray you then, why commandeth David his sone Salomon to punishe Semei for this just acte? "They which feare the hore frost (saieth Job), the snow shall fall upon him;" likewise so long as you stick to your error, when you think to avoyd one danger, you shall fall into a greater.

Job 17.

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ANSWER.

To the 1 & 2. You do ever decline from the principall scope, and so make ye a fals conclusion. For we do not deny, but God, finding in Semei at that time a wicked mynd towardes David, did lowse the bridle to his corrupted affections. But in two things do you and we differre: The first is, That whether he found any wickednes in him which his godly power might not have removed, if so he had determined to have done from the beginning. And, secondarily, If so he gave him the bridle that he might not have impeded the same, if such had bene his godly will. And therefore, where you affirme that God did effectually move Semei to that wicked dede, if you understand that in so farre as the dede was wicked, the Spirit of God, I meane the Holy Ghost, did not move him therunto, I subscribe with you. For so outrageously to curse David in the day of his great calamitie, he was moved by that venime which long had lurked in his breast, and by the instigation of the Devill. But if thereupon you conclude, as that you seme to do by your manifest wordes, that God did nothing elles but onely suffer him; because, I say, that such ydle permission can neither agree with God's power nor with his justice, we must nedes affirme, that when God giveth over the wicked into a lewd and reprobate mynd, that then as justly he punisheth sinne by sinne, so doeth he more then onely suffer.

To the 3 & 4. There is more required that a fact be just, and justly and obediently done, then a just commandement, to witt, that the doer have God's expresse commandement for his assurance; and, secondarely, that he looke and have respect to the same endes which God hath uttered in his word; and, last, that he do it only to obey God. Nowe, prove any of these to have bene in Semei, and I will confesse that ye have once triumphed. I finde that David did acknowledge God's commandement and counsell, and therfor at that time wold he not arme himself nor his servantes to take vengeance. But what commande-

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ment of God, I pray you, did Semei either acknowledge or confesse. I finde no mention that he excuseth himself, no not by any commandement that he had receaved of God, when after he submitteth himself to David in the day when he returned and came over Jordane. But I find him plainely to confesse his offence, saying, "Let not my Lorde impute wickednes unto me, nor remembre the thing that thy servant did wickedly when my Lord the King departed oute of Jerusalem, that the King shoulde take it to his heart: for thy servant doeth knowe that I have done amisse." If Semei had either knowen any commandement of God, or if he had looked to the same end to the which God looked, he might have had plausible reasons to have persuaded David to have shewed favor and mercie unto him. First, he might have said, "Oh, David, althogh thow was King, and that I did curse thee, thow oghtest no more to be offended against me then thow wast against the Prophet Nathan. For as he had God's commandement plainely to revele thy sinne, and sharply to rebuke the same, to the end that thou mightest be more effectually moved to repentance; so had I God's commandement bitterly to curse thee, to the end that thou mightest humble thyself before thy God, whom so highly thou hast offended." 2 Reg. 19.

These, I say, had bene plausible reasons to have moved David to mercie. But the canckered conscience of Semei did witnes against himself, that he, to his knowledge, had neither commandement of God, neither yet that he looked to any purpose or counsell of God, but onely to David's utter confusion and destruction, which he maliciously soght. And so, I say, albeit that God's commandement in the self was just, for the purpose and end which he had appointed, yet was this commandement hid to Semei, and God's purpose also unknowen to him; and therfore was his fact neither justly nor obediently donne. For a just fact (as I have before said) requireth a good will to obey a just commandement, and obedience requireth knowledge of the will; which neither of bothe was in Semei.

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Nowe, prove, if you can, either injustice in God, who thus doeth use this wicked instrument, or yet in David his servant, who in his testament commanded the dissembled hypocrisie to be punished.

The rest of your vaine sophisterie, which of Castalio you have begged, doeth nothing profit you. For albeit we should confesse, that it was the will of God, in some respect, that Semei should have an evill and inobedient minde, how shall you be able to prove that therfor he did obey God? Is it not the will of God, that Sathan and the wicked world, of a wicked and malicious mynde, trouble and tempt his children in this earth? Doeth it therfor followe that Sathan and the wicked obey God? Or doeth it not most justly followe, that because God will that our pacience should be knowen, and that the wicked from tyme to tyme procede in their impietie till the measure be full, that therfor they can never obey God. And in this our affirmation, we feare not so much the frost or snowe, as that we lament your uncomelye jesting in God's Scriptures. Thus you procede.

THE 41ST SECTION.

THE ADVERSARIE.

The Fifth Argument.

An argument you make in that place of Genesis, where Joseph saieth unto
1. his brethren, "God sent me hither for your lives' saik;" and thereafter, "It was not you that sent me hither, but God, which hath made me a father unto Pharao." Of this do you gather, that the wicked dede which Josephes brethren did in selling him was the Lord's dede and secret will. But for so much as the Patriarckes here committed double sinne; first, greved their father; and, secondly, they did committe the greatest kinde of theft, that is, to sell a man's child from him, which by the lawe ought to be punished by death: Therfor may we see, that this dede was not donne by God's will, for it was contrarie to this commandement, "Neither will he any wickednes; but according to his nature, which is ever good, he turned their wicked dede to a good end, for his servantes Abraham, Isaak, and Jacobes sake. For he sheweth mercie to the thousand generations of them that love him." This to be so, it is plainely proved by the latter chapter, where Joseph saieth unto
2. his brethren, "You thoght evill over me; but God hath turned it unto good, to do as it is come to passe this day." Marke well what is here ascribed unto Josephes brethren, and what unto God. They thoght evill, and God turned it to good. Then their minde and God's mynde were not all one;

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wherfor it was not God's will that they should thus do wickedly. Notwithstanding that this place of the last of Genesis is so manifest and directe against your error as can be, yet will you not agree to the trueth, but flie to your shamefull shift of God's secret will. For here you say, that it was God's secret will that this should so come to pass, so that the Patriarkes thoghtes were moved to do this by God. Thus you attribut to God that which is proper to the Devill, by the testimony of the Word, wherby we be taught that the Devill moved men with evill thoghtes. God commandeth us to resist evill thoghtes, which if they come of him, then commandeth he us to resist himself. James saieth, "That no man is tempted of God." But to move with evill thoghtes is to tempt. All is good which commeth from the Father of light; wherfor, if evill thoghts come from him, they must be good. Then was Josephes saying untrewe, "You thoght evill over me." But you grant evill thoghtes to be evill, and yet you say that they came from God; then may we call God the Father of darknes, because from him came evill thoghts, which are darknes. And wher you say that God doeth those things for his owne glory, I answer, that saying is but vaine, for we glorifie him when we judge him worthie to be glorified; as Nebuchadnezer, being changed into a brutishe nature, having experience of the justice and power of God, he gave glory to God, forasmuch as he did see and judged God to be just. God wilbe glorified of all nations; then must God's works be such as all nations may knowe them and praise them; yet is there no nation which at any tyme shall acknowledge God to be just, for because he punished a man for the offence wherunto he himself did provoke him. The Philistians, priestes and sothsayers, gave glory to God, and judged him to be just, in that he plagued Pharao, in that he hardened his heart against God, desiring their rulers by the same example not to harden their heartes against God, but to send away the ark of the Lord, lest he likewise plague them. But if the Philistians sothsayers had knowen (as ye presume to do) that God did harden Pharao's heart, what justice coulde they attribut to God for punishing Pharao, for that thing whereof he was the author himself, moving and forcing Pharao therunto. Seing, as you have said, no man is able to resist his secrete will, what injustice had it bene to punishe Semei for that offence whereof God was the author, commanding him to do it. David saieth, "Thus the Lord is knowen to execute true judgement, when the ungodlie is trapped in the workes of his owne handes," not when he punished for the offence wherunto he moved men himself. If God should punish a man because he hath a beard, should any glory redound to God thereof, seing he hath given us beards himself? But here you be very religious, and say, "We oght not to speake so unreverently of the works of God, for this is the secret judgement of God unknown to us." I answer There be some secretes of God unknown to us; but the judgement of God is knowen, and made manifest to us in the Word; and after this word (as Saint

3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11.

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Paul teacheth), not after your secret judgement, shall God judge the world: and so shal God be glorified of all, godlie and ungodlie, forasmuch as all shall judge it to be just; and they which have not obeyed the trueth (not your unknowene trueth), but that which is knowen, that is the Word, shalbe punished; and they which have obeyed the trueth, not secret as yours, but reveled
12. in God's Word, shall receave their rewarde. Moreover, if this be the secret judgement of God, Who reveled it then to you? Howe do you knowe it to be
13. secret? Is it secret which you knowe and teach? Indede I think it to be so, for it is so secret that I can not catche no holde of it. But herin I do perceave, not the secret, but the manifest judgement of God, which suffereth you to erre thus, because you withholde the trueth in unrighteousnes, and, according
Rom. 1. to your knowledge, you have not glorified God, neither have you bene thankfull, but waxed full of vanities in your owne imaginations. Wherfore my counsell is, That you turne againe from that infidelitie wherin you have drowned yourselves, beleve the Worde, and seke no forther, for it is the power of God to salvation to every one that beleveth.

ANSWER.

To the 1 & 2. As your most pestilent Sect, even from the first originall of it, hath with all malicious craft labored to subvert and confound God's most perfect ordinance, so do you in this mater confound those things which we most plainely and most distinctly set aparte, and devide them the one from the other. For, first, you are never able to prove that any of us hath alledged, or yet doeth alledge, the word or fact of Joseph and his brethren for any proof of God's eternall Election or most just Reprobation; but to declare that such is God's providence towardes his chosen children, and towardes their salvation and preservation of his Church, that whatsoever Sathan and wicked men imagine to the destruction of God's Elect, that same doeth his infinit goodnes convert to their profit, comfort, and joye. And so this is the first, that impudently ye confounde, to witt, his Providence, which extendeth to all his creatures, with his Election, which perteineth onely to his children. The second is, no man hath ever put more plaine difference betwixt the wicked will of Sathan, the corrupt and malicious will of man, and the holie and most just will of God, then we do in all our doctrine and writings. And yet ye accuse us, that we attribut to God that

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which is propre to the Devill, that is, to move the thought of men to do evill.

Howe far that impietie is from all our cogitations, as God one day shall manifestly revele to your eternall confusion (except that spedely you repent), so may all godlie men, who either have heard our voices or redde our writings, beare record how justly you accuse us. We constantly affirme, That God neither moved by his Holie Spirit the heartes of the Patriarkes to envie and hatred, neither yet of Pharao to crueltie, neither yet to iniquitie, for that is naturally borne with all men, and nedeth the power of the potent Spirit of God to extinguish and quench it, but not to inflambe and kindle it. But yet we say that God, who out of darknes produced or broght forth light, had in that most detestable facte of the Patriarkes both his will and his counsell, farre contrarie to their myndes and purpose, even as he had in the cruell and most unjust death (as concerning the instrumentes that were the executers) of his deare Sonne Christ Jesus. Neither yet doth it therof followe, that evill thoghtes, whereunto we are commanded to resist, are moved by him, or yet come from him. For the fountaine thereof doth everie wicked man so fynd within himself, that his owne conscience shall convict him, that no where elles is the cause of his iniquitie (and of the severe punishment which for the same he shall susteine) to be soght but onely within himself, and as proceding of himself by instigation of the Devill, into whose power he is delivered (as was Saul and others) by the inscrutable and incomprehensible (but yet most just) judgementes of God.

If in you were either modestie or discretion to judge of those thinges that be well and godly spoken, or yet docilitie to be taught in those thinges wherof utterly ye declare yourselves ignorant, ye coulde not thus, as in a furious rage, spewe forth your venim against God's supreme Majestie; for your horrible blasphemies are not somuch spoken against us as against God. As for us, they do no more obscure the manifest light of our doctrine, then if in your despyte ye should spitt against the To the 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

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bright sunne to impede the brightnes therof. For in none of our writinges be you able to shewe any of these sentences, which maliciously, and without shame, you laye to our charge: "Evill thoghtes come from God." "God punisheth man for the offences whereof he is author, and wherunto he provoketh him." "God moved and forced Pharao to punish the people."

These, I say, and others your horrible blasphemies, (which we so detest that we affirme the first authors of them to be worthie of most sharp punishment,) you be never able to shewe in any of our writinges. And this might serve for a sufficient answere to all your dispitefull railing.

But lest you should still glory in your iniquitie and grosse ignorance, I will discover the same, following your answer in the wordes of S. James, saying, "God tempteth no man." If ye affirme, that God neither tempteth the obeidience of his servantes, neither yet sendeth false prophetes to tempt his people, his plaine Scriptures will rebuke your vanitie. For God tempted Abraham, he tempted his people fortie yeres in the wildernes, he tempteth also by sending fals prophetes, as Moises doth witnes. And therefor ye must be compelled to grant, that this word tempting, or to tempt, is diversly taken in the Scriptures: sometimes to trye and examyn, sometimes to bring to light and knowledge thinges that be secret in man's heart, sometimes to seke by experience a certentie of thinges spoken, pronounced, or affirmed, and sometimes to move or to provoke to iniquitie; and in this last signification, we confesse that God tempteth no man. For as the mater of all iniquitie lieth within man, so is he provoked, moved, and stirred therunto by his owne lustes, and instigation of the Devill onely. And thus, albeit we grant that to move evill thoghtes is to tempt, yet we denye the conversion, which is this, *Ergo*, to tempt is to move evill thoghtes.

But let us heare forther of your profound vanitie: "All is good (say you) that commeth from the Father of light, (God grant that in your heartes ye were assuredly so persuaded;) if

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evill thoghtes come from him, they must be good." And so you conclude, that then was Josephes wordes false, and that God may be called the Father of darkness, (O, execrable is your blasphemie!) because from him come evill thoghtes, which are darkness. Answer; If any of us have so written or spoken, let us be stoned to death as execrable blasphemers. And if that ye in your blind fury do therewith unjustly burden us, althogh ye may eskape the handes of man, yet shall you not eskape God's severe and sodeine vengeance. It is malice that will not suffer you to understand howe that these evills which men willingly comitt, in so farre as they come from God, are just, profitable, and good. For we most constantly affirme, that the damnation of the Devill, the induration of Pharao, the deceaving of Achab, and other such, in so farre as they proceded from God, are his just and good workes; because they are the punishment of sinne, the execution of his just judgementes, and a declaration of his justice, which justely is armed against the obstinate rebellion of angelles and men. But thereof to conclude, *ergo*, their evill thoghtes, their malicious myndes, their hatered and crueltie, came immedfatly from God, is more then a blasphemie. For all these be, and are found within the offenders, which God doth use, not by an ydle permission, (for that is a thing most contrarious to his justice,) but effectually, as his wisdome best knoweth, they shall serve to his glory, and that for utilitie of his chosen children. I say, it is a thing most contrarious to God's justice and power ydly to suffer iniquitie to be done, if he had no further respect then to the facte as it is committed. For as a man can not be excused who may impede murther and doth it not, so can not God's justice be excused by your ydle permission, if he had no further respect but to thinges as they be done by man. And so is God's justice rather accused then mainteined by the foolishnes of your curious braynes, saying, "God permitteth many thinges which he wold not." What vanitie is this? Is it not a thing confessed amongest all that God's power is omnipotent? Who then can

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compelle him to suffer that which he wold not! And why doth he willingly suffer thinges which in his law he hath forbidden! I answer, for the manifestation of his own glory, which is more precious then the heaven and the earth, and all the creatures in the same conteined.

And thus doth vanitie cause you to fear, that God's justice shall fall into decay, except it be undersett and upholden with your foolishe distinction betwixt his will and his permission; but we feare not to affirme, that he permitteth nothing which in some respect he will not; for as He is omnipotent and a most loving father, so should he suffer no calamitie to come nor crueltie to be used against his children, except he did before see, yea, and before determyned, their comfort and his glory to arise of the same. And will you say that God's glory, the comfort and the preservation of his church, is an evill work, because that wicked men are instrumentes by whome God's eternal counsell is broght to passe! Was the exaltation of Josephe to honor, the preservation of Egypte, and of other nations from famine, yea, and the feeding of Jacob and his familie, an evill work, because that Josephes brethren of malice and envie did sell him to the Ishmaelites, and they for lucre did sell him againe to Putiphare, whose wyfe of malice did moste unjustly accuse him, and so being in prison, at length he was broght to the knowledge of Pharao, and so was promoted for his revelation and wisedome to honor and dignitie! O! say you, it is not this that we do lay to your charge, but you affirme "that God was author of the malice, and of the wicked thoghtes of Josephes brethren." You do belie us most maliciously, for we constantly denye that God either powred in them any malice, or did move by his Holie Spirit any wicked thoght into them; for those we say they had of nature, in so farre as it is corrupted. But we say, that God used their wicked thoghtes and malice to his glory, and to the full comfort of him whose destruction they soght; and that he did not, ydly permitting them, but effectually working by such instru-

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mentes and meanes as his wisedom had before appointed. Rage now as you list; for albeit to you this saying is vaine, That God worketh all thinges for his owne glory; yet will not God have his glory measured by the vanitie of your braine. "We glorifie God (say you) when we judge him worthie to be glorified." Answer; If you understand that then only, and at none other time elles, do men glorify God but when they confesse him worthie of glory, you are ignorant, foolishe, and manifest liers; for your argument is no better then if I should say, Man slepeth in the night season, therfor no man may or can slepe at any other time. If your master Castalio had considered that an argument made *a specie ad genus* negative is vaine and foolishe, he had not heaped together so many sophistical reasons, by the which you and others are abused.

To make this mater somewhat more plaine: If the glorie of God consist in the manifestation of his mercie, of his trueth, of his power, of his wisedome, and of his moste just judgementes, then do all creatures glorifie God, whether they judge him worthie or unworthie of the same; for David affirmeth, "That the heavens declare the glorie of God," and yet have they neither judgement nor understanding. "The heaven and the earth, Isa. 6.
(saieth Isaiah,) are replenished with his glorye;" and in another place, "The beastes of the field shall preach my glorye, the dragons and the birds of eastriches;" and Achan also was commanded to give glory unto God. "The earth shalbe compelled (saieth Habacuc) to knowledge the glory of God." Zacharie, also, the Prophet, saieth, "For his glory hath he sent unto the nations which have spoyled you." Finally, shall not Sathan and the Reprobate in their just condemnation give glory unto God? and do ye think that all these creatures judge God to be worthie of glory, in such sort as they acknowledge his power, his wisdome, his justice, and from their whole heart submitte themselves to his holy will? I trust you do not; for we know that Sathan is a spirit confirmed in malice, and rebellious against God, and yet is he compelled even in tormentes

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to give glory unto God, in so farre as in his just damnation he declareth God's power and just judgementes. And therefor I say, that you restreine the glory of God within too streit and narrowe limites, when that you will that it shall extend no forther then to such as from their heart judge God worthie of glory; the which perteineth to his chosen children onely, and can never be given by the Reprobate, for such glory must proceed from faith, which is not commone unto all, but is the speciall gift given to God's elect; and yet nevertheles by other meanes God declareth his glory, even in the vesseles of his wrath, as is before declared.

Of the example of Nabuchadnezer, ye can make but a particular conclusion, in this forme: Nabuchadnezer after he had felt the just punishement of his pride and arrogancie, gave glory unto God; *ergo*, some man after punishment giveth glory unto God. If you make your conclusion extend any further, it is false; for if you say, that all men after punishement give glory unto God with the same confession that he gave, many examples may be showen to the contrary. If you say, that none other giveth glory unto God except such as so be punished, that will be proved likewise fals. And if you say, that God's glory doth shine in none except in those that acknowledge and confesse God to be mercifull and just, that is most vaine of all. And thus I say your conclusion must be but particulare.

The reasones and the conclusion which you make upon these wordes of David, "Praise God all you nations," are so foolish on the one parte, and so filthie and execrable upon the other, that amongest all nations ye oght not onely to be mocked, but also to be had in horror and detestation. First, you say, "If God must be praised amongest all nations, then must God's workes be such as all nations may knowe them and praise them." I answere, Even so they are, and such amongest all nations as have the eyes of their mynds illuminated by God's Holie Spirit, do see just cause why that they oght to praise

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God's wisdome, even in all his workes. But you procede, saying, "There is no nation which at any tyme shall acknowledge God to be just, for that he punisheth man for that whereunto he himself did provoke him." And so, after the example of the priests of the Philistines ye ask this question, "If God should punishe man because he hath a beard, should any glory redound to God thereof, seing he has given us beards him self?" And so you skoffe and jest at us, saying that we be very religious, because we say that none oght to speak so unreverently of God's workes. God is witnes, that I write not without some grief of heart, neither yet that I affirme this which I am to speak for privie hatered which I bear against the persone of any man; but in God's presence I say, That rather then such horrible blasphemies should have been fostered in my heart, devised in my braine, written by my pen, and pronounced by my mouth and tongue, that rather I wold my carcasse should have suffered most cruell and vile death; yea, and further, I say, That better it had bene for you never to have bene borne, then thus blasphemously to expose God's great majestie to opprobrie and mockage; for I appele to the judgment of the heaven and the earth, and of all creatures in the same conteined, if ever that Julian the Apostate spake more disdainfully of God then here you write

But for the instruction of the simple reader, to answer you more reasonably than your unreverent skoffing deserveth, I say, first, That the mynd of David was not to teach us what everie nation and every particulare man amongest the Gentiles shall do, but what was the duetie of everie nation, everie people, and everie man to do, when God's mercies should be offered unto them. And therfor, if you conclude all nations to praise God, in such sorte as David meaneth, because that the Holie Ghost by his mouth commandeth all nations to praise God; you make no better an argument then if ye should affirme, That every man loveth God with all his heart, with all his mynd, and with all his strength, because that God so commandeth. This is

The place of David.

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one portion of your ignorance. The second followeth, "God's works, say you, must be such as all nations may knowe them and praise them:" I answer, If you understand that all that praise God unfeinedly from their heartes must have some knowledge of his mercies, goodnes, just judgementes, and wonderous workes, we dissent not from you. But if you say (as by your process is evident that you do) that except all nations perceave and understand the very grounde of God's justice, that God amongest them shall have no glory, then as we lament your foolishnes, so we detest your error; for albeit that the naturall man can never atteine to the knowledge of those things which God purposeth, yet shall not God be defrauded of his glory, no, not in the most carnal and wretched man. Christ Jesus was sent into the world, and came to that people
John 1. which was called his own: and his glory did so shine to the eyes of some, that they did acknowledge it to be the glory of the onely Sonne of God. But did the princes of the priestes and the whole nation of the Jewes see the same glory, and so confesse him as did the Electe? Saint Paul witnesseth the contrarie, saying, "If they had knowen, they had not crucified the King of Glory." Paul was appointed a preacher to the Gentiles, amongest whom he most faithfully and moste boldely did open the treasures of God's great mercies, and of the glory of his Sonne Christ Jesus: but did every citie, realme, nation, or man, to whome these treasures were opened, so receave, understand, and imbrace them, that for the same they glorified God? The contrarie is evident. But was God therfore defrauded of his glory, even in the midest of a wicked generation! God forbid; for as the eyes of some were lightned, and so did glorifie the word of the Lord, so such as remained obstinate, did (and shall) glorifie God, in so farre as his just judgements were and shall be executed against them. If you feare no punishement, rage as you list. To your blasphemies I have before answered; for none of us doeth impute upon God that he punisheth any man for any thing that he provoketh him to

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do; for iniquitie commeth not of God's provocation, motion, nor Holy Spirit, as that before we have declared; and therfor, as God hath reveled to us a more assured knowledge in his holy Scriptures then the Philistians priests had, so are we bold to affirme that which was hid from them, and which also you can not abide; to witt, that all creatures are compelled to serve to God's glory, in such sorte as his wisedom hath appointed them; and yet that the willes of men are neither violently moved nor enforced by God to committe iniquitie, to the which all men are ready bent of naturall corruption.

Amongest many foolishe and most disagreing similitudes which your captein Castalio useth for probation of his purposes, (for in such doeth stand the chief ground of his divinitie,) none can be more foolish nor further repugning to that which he and you would prove, then is this: "If God should punish a man because he hath a beard, should any glory redound to God thereof, seing he hath given us beards himself?" Hereof you will inferre, that if God punish sinne, which he hath willed or appointed to be, then can he not be just. But let us examine if your simile doeth agree even in the chief pointes, in the which, if it prove any thing, it must agree. First, we knowe that the beard of man was created by God; but who amongest us did yet ever affirme that sinne and iniquitie was made or created by God? Sinne, we confesse, was foresene, yea, and ordeined in the incomprehensible counsell of God, and that for the most just and the most righteous end and purpose. But that it was made or created by God, that are ye not able to prove by our doctrine. Thus doeth your similitude halt in the chief member; for they must be both alike God's creatures and creation, if God shalbe bound no more to punishe man for having of the one, then for having of the other. Moreover the beard of man so springeth, groweth, and abideth of a mere natural motion, that albeit men slepe, eate, drink, do, or what soever actions pleaseth them, (not taking care or solicitude of their beard,) it cometh nevertheles to that state and perfection

To the 19.

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that nature will suffer. But hath man sinne none otherwayes then thus? Doeth man sinne, I say, having neither will, mynd, nor appetite to sinne? or doeth not sinne procede from so voluntary and corrupt motion, that the will, the judgement, the understanding, and appetites, yea, the whole man, and all his cogitations, are subjecte to sinne, and bent upon iniquitie at all tymes? Be judges yourselves how well do the partes of your similitudes agree. Thus with greater modestie have I answered your foolishnes, than your scoffing scurrilitie deserveth.

To the 11, 12, 13. Where you affirme, "That albeit there be some secrets of God unknowen to us, yet is the judgment of God knowen and made manifest to us in the word;" I wold ask of you, If ye can, by the plaine word, assigne causes of all God's judgmentes from the beginning, and of those judgments which that day shalbe put in execution, when the secretes of all heartes shall be revealed. And if you be able so to do, ye should be profitably occupied, (as I think,) if by your plaine and simple writing ye would studie to put end to this controversie; the chief point whereof standeth in this, that we affirme, That causes able to satisfie the curiositie of man can not be assigned from God's plaine Scriptures, Why God permitted a great nomber of his angels to fall, of whome he hath redemed none, but reserveth them to judgment? Why God did suffer man to fall, and yet of one masse elected some vesseles of mercie to honor, and appointed others for sinne to damnation? And finally, as before I have said, Why God deferred the sending of his Sonne so long, and why, also, that his againe comming is so long delayed? If ye will answer that these two last are resolved by the Scriptures, the one to be as the Apostle writeth, Lest that the fathers should have been made perfect without us; and the other, That the nomber of God's elect children might be fully complete: which we confesse to be a reasone most strong, and sufficient for all God's children, neither yet do we require any other; but yet the curious braine will not so be quieted, but it will still demand, May not God in one moment, if so it please him,

Judgementes of God in which man's reason can not be satisfied.

Heb. 12.

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fulfill the nomber of his chosen children, as well as He of nothing did creat the heaven and the earth, and shortly, in the space of six naturall dayes, set all things in perfect order!

Consider with yourselves what you do take in hand, if ye will affirme that all God's judgmentes be so knowen, that a sufficient reason of every one may be assigned from the Word. And if you say, there be some things secrete, then consider, I beseche you, that the Holie Ghost hath never made mention of any greater secret then that which lieth hid in God's most just judgementes, which Paule affirmeth to be incomprehensible; and David saieth, They are deepe and so profound, that neither can the understanding of man, nor of angell, reach to the bottom of the same.

Why ye should accuse us that we should affirme, that God shall judge the world, not according to Christes Evangell plainely reveled, but according to some other secret will, I see neither cause nor reason. For no men do more constantly abyde by that which is written and reveled, no men do lesse care to seeke for newe revelations or uncerten authorities, then we do. Our continuall doctrine is, that God shall absolve from damnation such as by true faith embrace his dear Sonne Christe Jesus; and shall condemn to fire inextinguible all infideles, and such as delyte in manifest impietie and wickednes. And this judgment do we beleve that God shall pronounce by his Sonne Christ Jesus, to whom all judgement is given. And for none other secrete will in that mater do we search. But if I lust, I coulde lay to some of your charges that which none of you can be able to deny, to witt, that some of you have written (besides your privie informations) that there is a doctrine more perfect then ever Saint Paule committed to writing; yea, and further, that some of you have called the whole Scriptures of God in doubte; and some do affirme, That none is able by the Word written to decide the Controversies that this day be in Religion. And therfor, that we must have new prophetes and newe revelations from heaven, before that any publicke and generall re- To the 12.

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formation shall be made. If any of you think that these things are but imagined by me, let him, under his owne name, impugne them, and I shall shewe witnesses; which at this time for divers causes I omitte. Your jesting at us, your bold judgement and condemnation by you pronounced against us, we remitt to him who shortly shall declare which of the two sortes be drowned in infidelitie, and leaving God's plaine Scriptures, have followed the vanities of their owne imaginations.

Now shortlie to that which followeth in these wordes.

THE 42D SECTION.

THE ADVERSARIE.

THE 6 ARGUMENT.

1. An other proof bring you of that which is written, Reg. 4, "God moved David to nomber Israell and Judah." To which I answer, that which is written 1 Par. 21, "Sathan stood up against Israell, and provoked David to nomber the people." I am certen that if it were not for this manifest scripture, you wold attribute the wicked provocation of the Devil to God. But here we may see a great light to understand many other places of the Scriptures, which semeth to affirm God to be the author of any evill; for by these two places we may see that God is called to be the author of the thing which he suffered; as be-
2. cause he suffered the obstinat resisting of Pharao, he is called the author thereof. So because he left Semei to the lewdness of his owne mynd, and
3. suffered him to curse David, God is called the author of his cursing; so the Patriarkes being left of God, did sell their brother; and here now David being left of God to nomber the people by the provocation of the Devil, whereunto he was no more moved by God then when he killed Urias. To this you say, That we do but flatter God when we do assigne any difference betwene his will and his permission or his sufferance, for God permitteth nothing (say you) but that which he will. If ye ment so that God permitteth nothing but that which he will permitt, I wold then holde your saying true.
4. But forasmuch as you declare your meaning to be this, that whatsoever God permitteth he willeth it absolutely, this is an erroneous saying; for God permitteth and suffereth all the wickednes which is done upon the earthe: and will you say, that God willeth absolutly all such wickednes? God forbid,
5. the people of God should be so persuaded to beleve such abomination. I say you are the prophetes of the Devill, which teache such filthie doctrine; and ye say, ye be the prophetes of God: nowe of necessitie one of us lieth; for if you be the prophetes of God, then I lie; and if you be the prophetes of the Devill, then do ye lie. And if God will us to say the trueth, he will not that we lie, for then he should will two contraries, which is impossible; yet one of us doeth lie, which must be by the permission and suffring of God, and not

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by his will. Wherof it foloweth, that there is difference betwixt the suffering and the will of God. The Lord was angry with the careles heathen, because when God was a little angry with the Israelites, they did their best to destroye them. Then suffered God the heathen thus to punish his people more grevously then he willed them to do; wherfor there must be difference betwene the will of God and his suffering. Obed the prophet reproved the Israelites, because they afflicted Juda more grevously then God wold they should have done. Then must the Israelites have done this by the permission of God, and not by his will. The prodigall sonne wasted all his goods riatously; if you say that so was his father's will, it should be a great absurditie; wherfor it must nedes folowe that the father suffered that which he willed not. The father willed both his sonnes to go and labor in his vineyarde, yet not both but one of them did his father's will; so the father suffered the other which went not, against his will. Thus we may see a great difference betwene the will and the permission of God. A notable saying we have in the prophecie of Jeremie against this error, which teacheth that sinne is committed, not onely by the permission of God, but also against his will: "They have (saieth he) builded high places for Baal to vowe their sonnes and daughters unto Moloch, which I never commanded them, neither came it ever in my thoght to make Juda sinne with such abomination." Here we see that Juda committed that which was contrarie to God's reveled will, "for I never commanded them" (saieth he), and against his secrete will, "for it came never in my thoght" (saieth he.) Then did they sinne by the permission of God against his will. "Thy wayes and thy thoghtes broght thee to this, saieth the Lord." If it was the Lordes secrete will that the Israelites should sinne, and it was also the Israelites thoghtes and will to sinne, then were they bothe of one mynd. And as the Lord outwardlie by the word willeth them not to do evil, so they outwardlie did promise to kepe God's law, and worshipped him with their lippes. By this it semed that both inwardly and outwardly they were conforme to God, after your opinion; wherfor he ought not to have been offended with them. I am ashamed to write the abominable absurdities which may be gathered of your poisoned doctrine. The Lord shall raise up the Spirit of the King of the Medes, which hath alredie a desire to destroy Babilon: by what meanes should the Lord stirre him up to do any thing which alredie is bent to do it, but by suffering him? And yet is the Lord called the doer thereof. And therefor it is written, "Let one deceitfull offender come against another, and one destroyer come against another;" for what neded God to move the wicked to do wickedly, which, being given over of God, do imagine nothing but wickedness; and his master the Devill slepeth never, but is alwayes with him, tempting him with evill thoghtes, and provoking him to perform his wicked imaginations.

Zach. 1. 6. 2 Pa. 28. Luk. 15. 7. Jere. 32. 8. 9. 10. Jere. 51. Esai. 21.

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ANSWER.

To the 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. The more nie ye draw to the end, the lesse ye prove your purpose, but the more ye utter your malice and venim. No
2 Reg. 24. just caus see we, why that the place of the bookes of the Kings shall be explained by that which is written in the Chronicles, in such sorte as you require, to wit, that nothing be left to God in that grevous offence of David, except an ydle and onely per-
2 Par. 24. mission. For the Holie Ghost feareth not to say, "The wrath of the Lord God was yet moved against Israell, and stirred up David against them; that he said, Go and nomber Israell and Juda." Here plain it is that the Eternall God, who was angrie against Israell, did stirre or move David to nomber them, not by an ydle permission, as you alledge, but by such motion as nothing repugneth to his justice. Where ye say, the other
[1 Chron. 21.] place explaineth this, for it affirmeth that "the Devil stood up against Israel, and provoked David to nomber Israell;" I answer, as the one place repugneth nothing to the other, so doeth it not explaine the other in such sense as ye adduce. For it repugneth not to say, that God, Man, and the Devil work in one fact and action, as in the histories of Job, Achab, Semei, and Pharao, is manifest. God, for just causes, giveth his commandement and power to Sathan, (as to his instrument,) be he never so wicked, to do what in his eternal counsel was before decreed. Sathan, of a wicked and rebellious mynd, chooseth such instrumentes, and useth such meanes as God likwise hath appointed. Men, in all wicked actions, of their free and voluntarie motion, do follow their corrupt and wicked affections, in declaring their pride, vanitie, malice, or crueltie; which wicked affections, in so farre as they are wicked, we confesse that God will not, for he can will no iniquitie. But yet that his eternal and almightie power shall be judged so ydle, that it doeth nothing in such actions but onely suffer, we can not admitte, for such reasons as we have before alledged, where that we did examine the difference betwixt God's will and his permission.

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You retein in your old nature, (and justly I might say, the nature of the Devill,) most maliciously affirming us to say, That whatsoever God permitteth, he willeth it absolutely, and so that absolutely he willeth all wickednes. Which saying, as ye be never able to prove upon us, so do we confesse it not onely erroneous, but also so blasphemous, that whosoever dare pronounce or affirme the same deserveth death. For we most constantly in word and writing affirme, that absolutely God willeth no iniquitie; for all his workes, in so far as they procede frome his wisdome and infinite goodnes, are holie and just, and therfor do we make God author of no sinne, which onely procedeth frome the fountaines that be corrupted, that is, from the Devil and frome man, as in divers places most evidently we have declared. To the 4.

Because I do perceave that greatly ye delyte in your pregnant wittes, (I will not say foolish vanitie,) I will recite your whole wordes, by the which ye wold seme to prove contrarietie in God, except that we wold grante a difference betwixt God's will and his permission. "I say," saieth the author of your book to us, "that ye are the Prophetes of the Devill, which teach such filthie doctrine; and ye say, ye be the Prophetes of God: Now, of necessitie one of us lieth; for if ye be the Prophetes of God, I lie; and if ye be the Prophetes of the Devil, ye lie. And if God will us to say the truth, he will not that we lie, for then he should will two contraries, which is impossible; yet one of us [doth] lie, which must be by the permission and suffering of God, and not by his will. Whereof it followeth, that there is difference betwixt the suffering and the will of God." To the 5.

It appereth that in this description of persons in which ye oppose yourselves to us, ye wold more declare what is your judgement and opinion of us, and what ye wold that we should be estemed of others, then that ye greatly do travale to prove any contrarie in God's will by the same. For his eternall wisdome seeth the meanes how that his commandement and his will are not contrarious the one to the other, albeit that he com- Answer.

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mand one thing, and yet for just causes will wicked men to do the contrary; which kinde of contrarietie and repugnance doeth so blind your eyes, that you cannot see how God can command all men to speak trueth; and yet for just causes before sene and determined in his counsell, that he will the Devil and his slaves to delite in lies. Albeit, I say, that the apperance of this contrarietie blinde you, yet will not God's trueth cease to be trueth, neither will the libertie of his eternall Godhead be broght into bondage to your corrupt judgement. His commandement and his will do neither debate, neither fight betwixt themselves, but do agree in all thinges, even as do his mercie, his justice, his wisdome, and his power, albeit oftener it is that his justice doth punish such as upon whom he hath determined to have mercie. Even so he commandeth men to obeye his commandmentes, whom he not onely foresaw to be disobedient, but for most just causes willeth his glory to appere even in their unrighteousnes and lies. And this he doth without all contrarietie in his godly will, to the full knowledge wherof albeit ye can not atteine; yet more profitable it were for you to be ignorant of such thinges as God reserveth to be reveled in the time appointed in his eternall counsell, then thus without all reverence and feare to trouble your foolish braines in devising such absurdities as may seme to oppugne God's eternall veritie, which in the end will triumphe to your destruction, shame, and confusion, if obstinatly you procede as you have begonne. For albeit that he loveth trueth and hateth lies, and albeit that he commandeth man to speak the trueth and forbiddeth man to beare fals witnes, yet feareth he not to give a commandment to that wicked Spirit to go forth, and to be a lieing spirite in the mouthes of all Achab's false prophetes. Yea, forther, he gave him power to worke that in the fals prophetes which he forbiddeth all men to do. For he commandeth that no man shall deceave an other, and yet giveth he power to the Devill to be a lieing spirite in the mouthes of the false prophetes, and to them he giveth power to deceave Achab.

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If ye list to lay contrarietie to the charge of God, prepare your winges, and with Nabuchadnezer of Babylon saye, "We will passe up to the heavens, and shall establish our seates above the sterres of God: We shall passe up upon the hight of the clowdes, and we shall be like to the Most Highest." Yea, if thus ye will call his secret counsels to examination and triall, ye must be judges and superiors to him. Thus justly I might illude and skoffe your reasons, as vanities most unworthie to be answered; but yet having respecte to the simple, I will gather your argument, and forme it as strongly as yourselves can, and I will answere so much of the same as ye think unable to be answered. Your argument is this: Isa. 14.

"God can not will two contraries; but to speake the trewth, and to lie, are contraries: therfor he can not will them both. But he permitteth men to lie; and willeth them to speake the trueth: there is therfor a difference betwene the will and the permission." The Adversaries Argument.

God can not will two contraries. True it is in himselfe, in one respecte, and for one purpose, he who is author of concord can not will contrarietie; but in consideration of his creatures, for divers respectes and sundrie purposes, thinges be not contraries the one to the other, which to our judgementes have apperance of contrarietie. If you be so well seene in your artes as some of you pretend, ye can not but understand this answere to be sufficient to dissolve whatsoever ye have unreverently collected. But yet to make it more sensible to the simple, I say, that in this proposition God can not will two contraries; and in the conclusion which you make upon the same, you ought to have made a distinction betwene those thinges which God simply (or, as ye spake before, absolutely) will, and betwene those thinges which he will for a certein end and purpose, which doeth not appere in the external actions. For certein thinges there be (as in an other place I have entreated) which God will, even for themselves, such as be mercie, justice, temperance, chastitie, and all other vertues, which he will have to shyne in Answer.

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his Elect, and please him in Christ Jesus his Sonne. And yet, nevertheles, he also will crueltie, injustice, excesse, filthie life, blindnes, and induration, to be in others, as just punishmentes of their sinnes, and causes of their condemnation. The last (I say) will God to be in the reprobate, not for the wicked actes sake, which do ever displease his Majestie, but for such endes as his wisdome hath appointed.

Let this be explained by examples, some natural, and some taken from God's Scriptures. There is no man (except he be of a most cruel nature), that, considering the incommodities of warre and of battell, doth will it for the selfe. And yet a godly prince persewed by externall ennemies, doth not onely will his soldiours to fight and to mainteine the warre, but also he provoketh, he encourageth, and exhorteth his subjectes to the same. And why is it? Because that warre or battell pleaseth him in the self, or for the self? No; but because without such travaill, such danger, and hasard, his subjects can not lyve in quietnes, and the estate of his common wealth can not be preserved. The same may I say of godlie magistrates punishing murtherers, adulterers, and blasphemers with death, and yet neither willing the death of any man, neither yet deliting in the shedding of their blood.

In these similitudes I grant somewhat to be unlike; for God's power is not subject to such incommodities unwillingly, as be the powers of men. But yet these similitudes suffice to explaine the chief purpose, which is, that man may will two contraries, for divers respects, without any contrarietie in himself. For peace and warre are contraries; to kill and to save the life are likewise contraries; and yet one man, even at one time, may will both the one and the other, for divers respectes and divers endes. He may will peace for the comfortable quietnes and felicitie that therof springeth, and, at the same instant, without all contrarietie in himself, he may will warre, to withstand the furie of the ennemie that wold oppresse his subjectes. And may not these

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thinges which we perceave to be in creatures be in God in greater perfection, althogh we perceave not the causes?

Let us trie the answere, both by the examples of God's servantes, and last by the example of God himself. Lot, no doubte, did agree with God's will, in that he loved chastitie, sobrietie, and temperance, and hated filthie life, riotous cheare, and excesse; for the Holy Ghost beareth him this record, that he was pure and cleane both in eares and eyes. But what will had he when he did offer his two daughters to be defloured, and abused by those vilanous persons? Was it contrarie to his former will? Did he now beginne to delyte in that execrable filthines? Assured I am he did not. But, being oppressed with the present necessitie, reteining the same love, will, and minde to chastitie, and honest conversation, soght the next remedie that to him appered able to have staid the rage of that furious multitude: upon God I grant falleth no such necessitie. But let the chief scope be observed, and we shall understand (that for divers respectes) to will two thinges, wherof the one is contrarie to the other, is not to will contrarietie. But let us come to God himself. God willeth mercy, justice, and all other vertues, as before we have said, and these he will at all times, and before all times; but is it not possible, therfore, that he can will crueltie, oppression, blood sheding, murther, and death? Who then sent Nabuchadnezer to destroy, not onely the Jewes, but also the Moabites and other nations? Who pronounced this sentence, "Cursed be he that doeth the Lordes worke negligently, and he that withdraweth his swerd from blood?" Who did create the smiths with their hammers to break downe the hornes which had dispersed Israel? And finally, Who gave his owne Sonne to the cruell death? Who hath subjected the deare spouse of Christ Jesus to afflictions and temporall calamities? Dare you denie, but that it was and is the Eternall God, by whose good will all these thinges were appointed and decreed? or were any of them done against his Almighty will? I think you will not so affirme; for the Scripture witnesseth, Zac. 1.

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that God gave his Sonne to the world, even of determined purpose that he should dye, or els who could have compelled his Majestie thereunto, if his will had been repugnant?

1 Pet. 4. Peter affirmeth, "That blessed are we that suffre for the name of Christ," adding this comfortable sentence, "By them (that is, by the persecutors) is the name of God blasphemed, but by you it is glorified. And therfor, let such (saith he) as be afflicted by the will of God, lay doune their soules in well doing, as in the hands of a faithfull keeper."

Rom. 8. Paul witnesseth, that those whom God hath Elected in Christ Jesus, he hath also Predestinate and before appointed to be like fashioned to the image of his owne Sonne. Of which testimonies it is plaine, that the grevous destruction, the aboundance of the blood shed among divers nations, the cruell death of Christ Jesus, and the most fearefull afflictions of his dearely beloved Church, did procede from God's will; in so much as he did not onely suffer them, but also, for most just causes, respectes, and endes, which often before I have recited, he did will and appoint them. And yet, in God was there no contrarietie; for in the destruction of Jerusalem, and of others, he had not respect simply to the ruine and vastation of those places, but to his just judgementes, which were provoked to take vengeance upon the multitude of their sinnes, which long he had suffered. When our Master Christ Jesus did suffre, he had no delite in the crueltie of those enraged dogges who did crucifie him, which as he hated, so after he did most severely punish; but his pleasure and delite was in the Redemption of man, which by none other sacrifice could have bene perfited. And this day, and from the beginning, he hath had no pleasure in the blood which is shed, neither in the tyrannie which is used against his simple and smal flock, but because he will have the members like that Head, he doeth a strange worke that he may do his owne worke; that is, he trieth and purgeth by fyre our faith from all drosse and corruption of earthlie affections. But in none of all these is there any contrarietie,

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neither in God, neither in his will, neither in his counsell. For all thinges be disposed in such ordre, such consent, and so conveniently, that his glorie and the perpetual comfort of his Electe doth finally and assuredly folowe. And even so it is in the apperant contrarietie betwene you and us. God, no doubt, will the one of us to affirme lies, to raile, to blaspheme, and most unjustly to accuse the other; he will the other to susteine the cause of the trueth paciently, to beare opprobrious wordes and sclanderous reportes, referring judgement unto Him who righteously and in equitie shall judge. Is there, therefor, any contrarietie in God's will? None at all. For the divers respectes and endes being considered, the same consent shall now be found in this apperant contrarietie, which hath remained from the encrease of God's church. For in all ages hath God willed his true Prophetes, with all boldnes and constancie, to susteine the cause of his simple veritie, how odious that ever it was unto the world. And in their contrarie, he hath raised fals prophetes, to whom he hath given the efficacie of errors (for contrarie purposes I grant), to witt, that his people may be tried, his faithfull servantes exercised and humbled, and, finally, that such as delyte not in veritie may be given over to beleve lies. Goe to now, and prove contrarieties.

In the wordes of Zacharie, you shew your ignorance, and in collecting the minde of Oded, you plainely declare your accustomed falshode, in farther stretching the minde of the Prophete then his wordes will beare. Which thing I will first shew by reciting the plaine wordes, and so returne to the Prophete Zacharie: "There was in Samaria a Prophet of the Lords, (saith the historie,) whose name was Oded: and he went oute before the hoste that came to Samaria, and said unto them, Behold, becaus the Lorde God of your fathers is wroth with Juda, he hath delivered them into your handes, and ye have slaine them in a rage that reacheth up to heaven. And now ye purpose to keepe under the children of Judah and Jerusalem as servants and handmaides unto you: but are not you such,

To the 6.

2 Par. 28.

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that sinnes are with you, before the Lord your God!" These be his wordes in that mater, by the which if you be able to prove that the Israelites did more then God in his eternall counsell had appointed that they should do against Juda and Jerusalem, we will patiently heare your probation and reasons. If you say, "The Prophete reproved them of their crueltie, therfor they did more then God wold;" that doth not folow, for the just will of God must not be measured by the crueltie of their facte, but by his owne word, which doeth affirme, that God gave over Judah into the handes of the King of Syria, and into the handes of the King of Israell, who did strike them with a great slaughter, and that for the sinnes and abominable idolatrie which they and Achas[1] their King had committed. We heare and see affirmed by the Holy Ghost, that God gave them over into the handes of their ennemies, which thing he did willingly, and not by permission, as you write.

Now, to the place of Zachariah, in which, I say, you shew grosse and wicked ignorance. For if your interpretation should be receaved, then of necessitie it should follow, that in God their lacked power to impede and stay the furie of those cruell men, who in their victorie did so insolently rage. For if God wold onely have had the Jewes gently corrected, and not to have bene so severely and rigorously destroyed; and yet, that against all maner and sorte of his will they were so cruelly entreated, it can not be denied but that the crueltie and rage of the Babylonians was greater then God could impede or stay. How blasphemous and fals this is, the godlie doeth understand. "O! (say you) but so do the wordes of the text sound, for they say, 'I am greatly angrie against the careles heathen. For I was but a litle angrie against Sion, but they have helped forwarde the affliction.'"[2] I answer, That if ye were not more malicious then ignorant, ye might easily perceave that those wordes were spoken, not to prove that any thing was done against Israel and Judah which God had not appointed and command-

[1] Ahaz. (2 Chron. 28.) [2] Zechariah i. 15.

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ed, but to instruct the Prophete, that the will and counsell of God, in punishing of his people, was farre other then was the will and counsell of those that did destroy them; and yet their long bondage should have an other end then either they themselves or their ennemies did understand.

That nothing was done against that people which the Lord had not appointed, yea and commanded, the same Prophete doeth affirme; saying, "My wordes and my statutes (he meaneth the threatnings and punishmentes) which I have commanded my servants the Prophetes, have they not apprehended your fathers? in so much that they have converted and said, Even as the Lord of Hostes hath determined and appointed to do unto us, according to our wayes, and according to our imaginations, so hath he done to us." Except that you will belie the Holie Ghost, you must confesse, that God had commanded, God had appointed, and determined so to punish his people. Yea, Amos the Prophete feareth not to say, "Shall there be evill in a citie (that is, any punishment or plague) and the Lord hath not done it?' "Why is he then offended (say you) against the proud and carelesse heathen?" I answer, Because they neither had respect to God's will, counsell, nor commandment, but to their own privat commoditie, and to the satisfying of their cruel appetites. For they did not destroye Jerusalem, willing or minding to punish the offenses of the people committed against God. Neither yet did they carie them to Babylon of purpose that God might be glorified in their deliverance. No, they had determined the plaine contrary, to wit, That Jerusalem should remaine desolate for ever: That Judah should be the inheritance of strange nations; and so should God's promise be fals and vaine. And in very dede the Jewes themselves, in the extremitie of their trouble, yea, and when the Temple began to be re-edified, were not free from these temptations; and therfore doeth God assure his Prophetes that his love was great towardes Sion; that he wold destroy that nation which intended their destruction; that he wold deliver his people; that the warfare of Jerusalem Isa. 10.

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was at an end; that her iniquitie was remitted; that she had received double punishment for all her sinnes from the hand of the Lord; and that therefore he wold take the dolorous cuppe of anguish and sorow out of her hand, and wolde give it into the handes of those that did trouble her. By which (and many mo) promises and threatninges, God doeth not meane that any thing was done in Jerusalem which he had not appointed; but by the one, he did somwhat comfort the troubled heartes of his afflicted people, and by the other, he did shew the cause why he wolde punish these cruell murtherers, whose service before he did use in punishing his people. And this doeth God most
Isa. 47. plainely witnes in these wordes: "I was wroth (saith the Lord) with my people, I have polluted myne inheritance, and given them into thy hand (he speaketh unto Babylon): thou didest shewe them no mercie, but didest lay thy very heavie yoke upon the ancient. And thou saidest, I shalbe a ladie for ever: so that thou didest not set thy mynd to these thinges, neither didest thou remember the latter end thereof. Therfor now heare, thou that art given to pleasures and dwellest careless, she saith in her heart, I am, and none else; I shall not sitt as a widdow, neither shall know the losse of children." Hereof, I say, it is plaine that the punishment of God's people (as before I have proved) is his owne appointment and will. But because the punishers looke to another end, therfor are they criminall before God's justice

In adducing both these examples, that is, of Israel punishing Juda, and of the Babylonians destroying Jerusalem, I finde you in another most grosse error besides this which I have confuted. For you seme to affirme, that if the Israelites and Babylonians had kept a measure, and had not exceded the boundes which God had appointed and commanded, they had not sinned; for (say you) he willed the one, but permitted the other. Then in so farre as they did his will they sinned not, but in so farre as they exceded his will, and did more, which he wold not, but onely did suffre it, they sinned. This is your profound divinitie

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and godlie meditations of God, of his justice, judgementes, and workes, incomprehensible to man's reason. Are you able to prove that Nabuchadnezer came to Jerusalem, or that therin he spilt, or his captaines and cruell souldioures, one droppe of blood which God (in his eternall counsell) had not appointed and willed? The testimonies of all Prophetes rebuke your vanitie. Ezechiel saith, "Thus saith the Lord; Behold, I come against thee, and will draw my swerd out of his sheath, and cut of frome thee both the righteous and the wicked. Seeing then that I will cut of frome thee both the righteous and wicked, therfore shall my swerd go oute of his sheath against all fleshe from the south (meaning throw all the land) to the north: that all flesh may know that I the Lorde have drawen my swerd out of his sheath: and it shall not return any more." Mark and consider how God attributeth all to himself, as after yet the Prophet more plainely speaketh, saying, "And he hath given it to be fourbished, that he may handle it: this swerde is sharp, and is fourbished, that he may give it into the hand of the slayer," &c. "And I will powre oute myne indignation upon thee, in the fyre of my wrath, and deliver thee into the hand of beastly men, and skilful to destroy. Thou shalt be in the fyre to be devoured; thy blood shalbe in the middes of the land; and thou shalt be no more remembred: for I the Lord have spoken it." If these be the wordes of him that onely suffereth, and willeth not thinges to be done, let the indifferent reader judge. Ezec. 21.

Why they did sinne, notwithstanding that God in his counsell had willed and appointed this severe punishment against his people, I have before declared, to witte, because that neither knew they God's will, counsell, nor commandement; neither yet had they any respect to obey God or to fulfill his will. That Nabuchadnezar was ignorant of God's will and counsell, is evident by that which is written in the same Prophet, in the place above expressed. For after he was come forth of his countrie, and was with his armye farre proceded in his journey,

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he was uncerten whether he should go against Rabbath, the strong citie of the sonnes of Ammon, or against Jerusalem; and so, committing the mater to his sorcerers and divines (the lottes being cast), he taketh his journeye against Juda and Jerusalem; wherof it is plaine, that he neither knew nor understode by the motion of God's Holy Spirit his holy will, neither yet commandement. And in destroying the citie, and punishing the people, who will say that he or his servantes hated sinne, pride, crueltie, idolatrie, and abominations, with the which he and his whole realmes were replenished? And the same do I say of the Israelites, who did not onely sinne because they exceded measure in punishing Juda, but because that against God's law and expresse commandement they made unjust warre against their brethren. They neither looked, neither yet ought they to have looked to God's secret counsell, but to his plaine law, which commanded them to love their brethren, not to murther, not to spoile, not to covet, &c. Against the which, because they did offend, even in the first motion and purpose of their warre, in God's presence they were murtherers, theves, oppressours, and covetous persons, before that ever they set their foote forth of their houses. And so, even that which he in his eternall counsel willed them to do, did no less displease him as touching their wicked mindes, then did that which you affirme he suffered. For every transgression of his law, is before his justice odious and sinfull.

If this can not correct your judgement, yet I am assured that it shall declare your vanities, who dare conclude, that if the Israelites and Babylonians had kept measure in punishing Judah, that then they had not sinned. But the contrarie I affirme; and say, that the first thoght and purpose moving them to make warre, was sinne before God. Touching the permission of the father towardes his prodigal sonne; and touching the sonne which promised to go and to labor in his father's vineyarde, and went not; I have before answered, That similitudes ought not further to be stretched then the minde of the

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Holie Ghost is to teach in the same. And in these places, it is evident, that Christ teacheth, not how God is compelled to suffer many thinges which he will not; neither yet was it his minde in those similitudes, to teach us what difference there is betwene God's will and his permission; but in the one he teacheth, that in God there is mercie towardes the sinner, yea, and towardes such a sinner as unthankfully and inobediently hath departed from God; and that there be some proude children, who, by reason of their continuance in their father's house, become disdaneful that others shoulde be preferred or compared unto them, and therfor they grudge, they murmurre, and they envie the liberalitie of their father, and his mercy shewed to the sonne that before appeared lost. To whom this might be applied, besides the Jewes and the Gentiles, ye are not ignorant. The other similitude doth teach us, that many in mouth say, "Lord, Lord, I go, I go," whose heart did never feele what is the reverence and true obedience due to God's Majestie.

We confesse no less then Jeremie doth write: for we say, that God neither commanded such abhominations as his people committed; neither yet that ever they did enter into his heart, that is, they did never delyte nor please him; neither yet did he ever will them for the actions themselves. But when you shalbe able to prove, that it did not apperteine to his just judgementes to punishe those idolaters with such blindnes, that they became more cruel then brute beastes, then shall ye be more able to prove that in no wise did God will that crueltie. God willed not those abhominations for the murther committed and blood that was shedde, for that he hated, and did punish; but he willed that a testimonie should be left to the world, in what blindnes man falleth when he declineth from God and from his true honor; of which fearfull example, you and your Sect ought to take hede. To the 7, 8, 9.

The Israelites in killing their children, no doubt, did even agree with God's will, and were of one mind with his judge- Ironia.

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ments, as you declare yourselves to be in spewing forth these horrible blasphemies against his supreme Majestie. For as they, leaving the plaine will of God, declared in his law, concerning their oblations and making of sacrifice, in a blind zeale to honor God, as they pretended, with sacrifices more precious and acceptable, (because their children to them were more deare then oxen or bullockes,)—as they, I say, in so doing, leave to us a fearefull example of God's judgementes; so do you by these your horrible blasphemies, which in furie, jesting, and skoffing, ye vomit furth against God, his eternall trueth, and against the true professors of the same. And thus farre, I confesse, was God's most just will fulfilled in them, as also it is (and hereafter shalbe) fulfilled in you: That because they, in the vanitie of their imaginations, declined from God's will reveled, God of his justice wolde make them spectacles to all ages following, what were his judgements (as I have said) against idolaters; even so ye, neither content that God shal use his creatures as best serveth for his glory, neither yet that any justice be in his eternall Godhead, to the which your reason can not atteine, are given over by God's will into reprobate myndes, thus horribly to blaspheme his Majestie; to admonish the generation present and to come, that with greater sobrietie, more feare and reverence, they speake and thinke of those mysteries that be incomprehensible unto man.

I have before declared, That no man leaving the will of God reveled in his Worde, doth either obey him, either yet please him, and so can he never be of one mynd with God, that committeth thinges forbidden by his Word. But why that God forbiddeth iniquitie to all, (which also in all men he hateth,) and yet that betwixt his vessels of mercie and the vessels of wrath he maketh such difference, that to the one he giveth medicine and purgation against the natural venom so effectually, that it worketh their salvation in the ende; and to the other, he denieth that grace: he will not make you, nor any of your faction, further of counsell then he hath expressed in these

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wordes: "He hath mercie on whom he will have mercie, and whom he will he maketh hard-hearted." Rom. 9.

That Sathan hath so enraged you, that upon that doctrine which the Holy Ghost most evidently doth teach, ye dare gather this abhominable absurditie, that God and wicked idolaters are both of one mynde, that they both inwardly and outwardly do obey him, ye have just cause not onely to be ashamed, but also to quake, tremble, and feare, for that horrible blindnes wherinto you are fallen, and for those just vengeances which your pride doth crave of God's justice. Just art thou, O Lord, in all thy workes! To the 9.

To your question, asking, By what means should the Lord stirre up the mynde of the King of the Medes to destroy Babylon, who had before a desyre ready bent to do the same, but by suffering and permitting him? To this question (I say) doth Isaie the Prophet answer, saying, "Thus saith the Lord unto Cyrus, his anointed, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him: therefor will I weaken the loynes of kings, and open the doores before him, and the gates shall not be shut: I will go before thee and make the crooked streight: I will breake the brasen doores, and burst the yrone barres: And I will give thee the treasures of darknes, and the thinges hidde in secret places," &c. If there be in you either modestie or aptnes to learn, this is sufficient to instruct you how God raysed up his Spirite, which before was redy bent to destroy Babylon; to witte, in giving unto him so prosperous succes, that no impediment was able to resist or withstand him; which thing God did not by an ydle permission or sufferance as ye imagine, but by his power, which did effectually worke in all that his journey, as the Prophet here, and in many other places, doth witnes. Which thing doth Cyrus himselfe also confesse, in these wordes: "The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdomes of the earth; and he hath commanded me to build him an house in Jerusalem, which is in Judah." And the Holy Ghost affirmeth, that the Lord did stirre up the spirit of To the 10. Isa. 45. Ezra 1.

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Cyrus, King of Persia, to cause this proclamation to be made. Dare you say, that to give all the kingdomes of the earth to one man, is nothing els but to suffre him to ryve and possess them at his appetites? Daniel affirmeth the contrary, saying, Dan. 2. "The name of God be praised for ever and ever: for wisedome and strength are his: And he changeth the tymes and seasons: he taketh away kings; he setteth up kinges: he giveth wisedome to the wise, and understanding to those that understand," &c. And David also saith, "He that raiseth the nedie out of the dust, and lifteth up the poore out of the dung; that he may sett him with the princes, even with the princes of his people." And therefore, because the Holy Ghost giveth to God's prudence and working power, that which you most wickedly attribute to his permission or ydle sufferance, I feare not to say, that as God stirred up Cyrus spirite, effectually moving it to give libertie and commandement to his people to returne to Jerusalem, and to restore the Temple; so did he also stirre up his spirit in enterprising his first journey against Babylon, in taking from him all feare, indewing him with an heroicall and bold Isa. 45. spirite, (as God himselfe saith, "I girded thee, thogh thou hast not knowen me,") and giving to him so fortunate succes, that all was subjecte to his empire. And therefor, albeit tenne thousand times ye will aske, "What nedeth God to move the wicked to do wickedly, which being given over of God, imagineth nothing but wickednes, and his master the Devill sleepeth never?" Yet will I answere, That as to destroye Babylon, in so farre as it was God's worke, it was no wicked dede, but his most just judgement. So albeit Cyrus had never bene so much enraged against Chaldea, either by his owne pride, either yet by Sathan, that neither of both could have broght any thing to passe, except that the Lord had decreed to perfourme his Jer. 51. worke in Babylon, as he himselfe did threaten, saying, "Behold, I come unto thee, O thou destroying mountaine, saith the Lord, which destroyest all the earth: I will stretche out myne hand upon thee, and rolle thee downe from the rockes, and

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will make thee a burnt mountaine. They shall not take of thee a stone for a corner, nor a stone for fundations; but thou shalt be destroyed for ever, saith the Lord," &c. If you see nothing in these and other such threatenings of God, but a permission onely, I can not cease to say that you are more then blinde. But now to that which foloweth in these wordes:—

THE ADVERSARIE.

THE 43D SECTION.

To that which ye alledge of the Prophet Isaie, "harden the heartes of this people," &c. For the better understanding of that place, we must note, that which is written in the chapter going afore, How the Lord had chosen this people, and planted them as a vineyard, and called all Israel to be judge betwixt him and his vyneyard, what more could have bene done for it then he had done; and yet when he looked for frute of equitie and righteousnes, lo, there was wrong and myserie, whereupon followed their induration. For they were hardened of the Lord, that is, as afore is saide, God gave them over to their own heartes lustes. Further, where he saieth to the Prophet, "harden their heartes," we must alwaies consider that their heartes were alredye hardened, which their wickednes did plainely declare; yet hath he commanded the Prophet to do his office, not to make their heartes hard, for that belongeth onelie to God, who, giving them over to their heartes lustes, hath alredy hardened them; but the office of a Prophete was to shew them the hardnes of their hartes, so when he saiethe, "harden their heartes," it is as muche as shew and declare unto them the hardnes of their heartes. The like phrase of speache have we in Leviticus xiii., "If the Priest see that the scab is growne abrode in the skinne, the Priest shall make him uncleane." How should the Priest make him uncleane who is alredye uncleane, and whose fleshe he durst not touche, but by declaring him to be uncleane? So, how should the Prophet harden their heartes whose heartes were hardened alredy, and whose heartes he could not touche, but by declaring them to be hard-hearted? So saieth the Lord to Jeremie, "Drive this people away, that they may go out of my sight; some to death, some to the swerd, some to hunger, some to captivitie;" this was not the office of the Prophet which the Caldees executed, but the Prophet was here commanded to shew, that for their wickednes they should be driven away, some to death, some to the swerd, some to hunger, and some to captivitie. So Jeremie tooke the cuppe out of the Lordes hand, and made all people drinke thereof unto whom the Lord sent him, where there be mo nations reckoned then ever Jeremie did see with his corporall eyes: this place therefore must be understand, as the others conforme to the office of the Prophet, which was to shewe them, that for their wickednes they

Their Argument.

1.

Levi. 13.

2.

Jere. 15.

3.

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should drink of the cuppe of the Lordes wrathe, which appereth more plainely
4. by that which followeth, where he sayeth, "If they will not receave the cuppe of thy hand and drinck it," that is, if they will not take warning by thee, &c. This interpretation is conforme to the phrase of the Scripture, neither is it contrary to any part of the Word; but if any man hath a better understand-
5. ing, lett him use it to the glory of God. Of these thinges alredy spoken, it is sufficiently proved that God hath Reprobat and cast away no man before the foundation of the world; but as he hath created man like unto his own image, so he will the deathe of none, but that all should be saved; neither is he the author or mover to any evill, which with long pacience suffereth wickednes to drawe men to repentance; neither willeth he any thing contrary to that
6. which is expressed in his Word. For as God is constant and immutable, of this his holy will he hathe uttered and declared unto man to knowe, the rest reserved he unto himself. Forasmuch as no man is able to comprehend the rofunditie and depth thereof, therefor ought no man to go about to prove or
7. improve any thing by that which is unknowen to him; wherefor they which affirme and teache that God hath ordeined men afore the fundation of the world to be damned, so that by no meanes they can be saved, for suche is his secrete will, notwithstanding he declareth the contrary in his Word, they must nedes have an evill opinion of God, and therefore ought all men of duetie
8. to abhorre their devilishe doctrine. And because I have said that they have an evill opinion of God, I have added here a discription of those Careless Libertines' God, conforme to their doctrine in all pointes, and a discription of the true God; wherby it may appeare even unto the simple how abhominable their doctrine and opinion in this matter is.

Answer.

To the 1. Whatsoever shalbe redde in the whole Scriptures, you shall never be able to prove that in these wordes of Isaie, "Go, and harden the heartes of this people," is nothing els meant, but that the Prophete was onely commanded to declare unto them their blindnes and hardnes of heart. For whersoever mention is made of the difference betwixt the Elect and the Reprobate, this vertue is attributed to the Word, that it doth illuminate the eyes and mollifie the heartes of the one by the power of the Holy Ghost, and by the contrarie, that it doth excecate and more harden the other by reason of their corrupt nature, to the which they are justly left. The Evangelist Saint John, making mention that the Jewes did not beleve in Christ Jesus, albeit

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that they had sene his wonderous workes, addeth this cause, "Therefore (saith he) they could not beleve, because Isaiah had said, He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their heartes; that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand in their heartes, and be converted, that I may heale them." Here doth the Evangelist attribute to the Prophet, not onely that he declared their blindnes, but that God by him did in very dede justly blind their eyes and harden their heartes. But this shall more plainly appere in examining the reasons and Scriptures which ye alledge for proofe of your interpretation. John 12.

First, say you, "Their heartes were alredy hardened, which their wickednes did plainely declare; yet hath he commanded the Prophet to do his office, not to make their heartes hard, for that belongeth onely to God, who, giving them over to their heartes lustes, hath alredy hardened them." And so ye conclude, that the Prophet did onely declare unto them the hardnes of their heartes. We do not deny but that their heartes were hardened before, and that justly for their iniquities' sake they were given over to their heartes lustes; but whether they were so hardened before the preaching of the Prophet, that after they could be no harder, I greately doubte. Yea, I nothing doubte to affirme, but that even as the claye by the heate of the sunne becometh more hard, and more hard, or as the branch cutte of the natural stock doth more and more wither, untill that no kinde of sappe nor moisture doth remaine, even so, I say, do the Reprobate, from time to time, become more obstinate, more blinde, more hard, and more cruell, and that by the Word, which doth plainely rebuke their iniquitie, and evidently declare whose children they are. Examples in Scripture hereof are manifest: Some lenitie and gentlenes appered in Pharao toward the people of Israel, before that Moses, at God's commandement, required their libertie. But that will and word of God, commanding him to let his people go and serve God in the wilderness, did so quicklye worke in the heart of that Answer. Exod. 5, 6.

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reprobate, that the greater hardnes of his heart was sodenlye felt by the Israelites, to their greate grief and grudging disconfort.

In the people of Israel, in their elders, priests, and counsell, appered some face of justice when Stephen was accused, before
Act. 7. that he pronounced these wordes: "Ye stiffenecked and uncircumcised in heart and eares, you have ever resisted the Holy Ghost, even as your fathers have resisted, so do you. Whom of the Prophetes have not your fathers persecuted? and they have slayn them whiche shewed before of the comming of that Just; whom ye have now betraied and murthered." Before this sentence (I say) there appered some face of justice, but what ensued, the Holy Ghost doth witnes, saying, "When they heard these thinges, their heartes brast for anger, and they gnashed at him with their teeth." And after, also, that he gave a more plaine confession of Christe Jesus, of his exaltation, glory, power, and Majestie, they cried out with a great voice, they stopped their eares, they, as wolves enraged, rushed upon him with one consent, and so, without all ordre of justice, did stone him to death. If ye confesse not that the Word of God, proceding from the mouth of Stephen, did not more harden them, who no doubte were hardened before, you deny a truth that is more then evident.

Divers places more I might adduce for the same purpose, but (having respect to brevitie) I stand content with those two, which I doubt nothing are sufficient to prove, that men that be alredy hardened, yet by the comming of the plaine word, which rebuketh their iniquitie, they become more hard. As the owle being blind, even when she appereth to see best in the night season, but yet in the day time she is more blinded, because that the weaknes of her eyes can not abide the bright beames of the sunne; and even so it is with the reprobate, they are alwaies blind and hard-hearted, but when the light of God doth most plainely shine before them, or when they are called from iniquitie to vertue, then becometh the word of glad tid-

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inges to them a verie savor of death, by the which they are both more blinded and more hardened. And so, in your first reason, we dissent from you in that, that you seme to affirme that because the reprobate are once hardened, therefore they can be no more hardened. Your second reason is, "That because it belongeth to God onely to make hard their heartes, that therefor there resteth nothing to the Prophetes but to shew unto them the hardnes of their hartes." I am glad that once ye will confesse, that it is nothing repugning to God's good nature, for just causes, to harden the heart and to make blind the eyes of the reprobate. But that therfore nothing resteth to the Prophetes or Apostles, but only to declare unto men their hardnes, I can not admitte. For we do find, that God doth so communicate his power with his true messingers and embassadours, that whatsoever they lowse in earth, he doth lowse in the heaven; and whatsoever they bynd in earth, he bindeth in heaven: whose sinnes they remitte, they are remitted; and whose sinnes they reteine, they are reteined. Answer.

The Lord himselfe saith unto Jeremie, "Behold, I have put my wordes in thy mouth, and I have ordeined thee above nations and kingdomes, that thou maiest roote out, destroy, and scatter, and that thou maist also build up and plant." And unto Paul it was said, "And now I shall deliver thee from the nations to the which I send thee, that thou maist open the eyes of those that be blind, that they may convert from darknes unto light, and from the power of Sathan unto God." These wordes do witnes, that the effectuall power of God doth work with the word which he putteth in the mouthes of his true messingers, insomuch, that either it doth edifie, lighten, or mollifie to salvation; or els it doth destroy, darken, and harden. For the Word of God is of the nature of Christ Jesus; and he is not onely come to illuminate and to raise up, but also to make blind and to beate downe; as he himselfe doth witnes, saying, "I am come to judgement into this world, that those that see not shall see, and that those that see shalbe blind." Jere. 1.

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Luke 2. And Simeon saith, "Behold, this is he that is put in resurrec-
Matt. 21. tion and in ruine of many in Israel;" insomuch, "that upon whom that stone of offense falleth, it shall burste him to powder." And therefore, we can not admitte that the ministerie of his blessed Word, preached or published by his faithfull messingers, be nothing els but a simple declaration what men be. No; we know that it is the power of God to salvation of all those that beleve; that the message of reconciliation is put in their mouthes; that the word which they preach hath such efficacie and strength, that it devideth asunder the joyntes and
2 Cor. 10. sinewes, the bones from the marow; that the weapons of their warfare are not carnall, but are power in God to the beating downe of all strong holdes, by the which the true messingers beat down all counselles, and all height which is raysed up against the knowledge of God; by the which also they lead into bondage all cogitations, to obey Christe. We know further, that they have vengeance in readynes against all inobedience;
Apoc. 10. that fire passeth forth of their mouthes which devoureth their enemies; that they have power to shutte the heaven, that rayne descend not in the daies of their prophecie. That God's power, both in the one sort and in the other, is conteined with his Word, even preached, pronounced, and fore-spoken by his messingers, do all examples in God's Scriptures witnes.

3 King. 18. At the praier and prophecie of Elias was the heaven both shut and opened; fire descended from heaven, and consumed those ungodly souldiours with their captaines. At the curse
4 King. 1. of Eliseus, did beares devoure forty-two children that mocked him. The wordes of Isai, Jeremy, and Ezechiel, albeit (for the time that they spake) they were contemned, yet had they such force and effect, that no strength was able to gainestand that which they had pronounced. At Peter's word, Ananias and Saphira did sodainlye dye. Paule, by his sentence, made Elimas the sorcerer blinde; and so forth, the examples be almost without nombre, that declare that God's power is joyned with his Worde, not onely in saving

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(which I think you will admitte), but also in punishing and destroying. If you thinke it fearefull, that God's holy Word shall have this power and effect to kill, to blind, and to harden, remember first the severe judgementes of God against sinne, and often call to minde that the fault, nor chiefe cause, is not in the Word, but in the subject and person in whom it falleth. The Word falling into the heart of the Elect, doth mollifie and illuminate, as before is said; but falling into the heart of the Reprobate, it doth harden and more excecate the same, by reason of the qualitie and incurable corruption of the person.

And thus, in your second reason, we do utterly dissent from you, and feare not to affirme, that God's true Prophets and messingers do not onely declare what men be, but that by the Word, which is committed to their charge, effectually they worke either lyght or darknes, life or death, yea, salvation or damnation. The text of Leviticus serveth you nothing, and the text of Jeremie is expressely against you. For the High Priest is not commanded to go to a man, in whom no leprosie appered, and to pronounce what after shall become of him; but the man in whom there is apperant signes of leprosie, is commanded to be ledde to the Priests, who are commanded to pronounce according to the signes which they see. Consider, I beseche you, the difference betwene the office of the one and the office of the other, the sentence of the one and the sentence of the other. The one (that is the Priests) go not, neither are they sent, to seke those that have apperance or suspicion of leprosie. But the Prophet is sent by God to them that then was called the people of God, in whom no man could have suspected such blindnes, such hardnes of heart, and such rebellion as the Prophet is commanded to threaten. The Priests did not, nor might not, pronounce sentence against a man in whom manifest signes of leprosie appered not; yea, triall must be taken whether it be leprosie or not. But the Prophet is commanded to go to that people who held themselves cleane, and before all triall, to pronounce that sharp sentence, "You shall

To the 2, 3, 4.

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heare with your eares, and shall not understand; you shall plainely see, and yet shall not perceave; the heart of this people is hardened." Was there any such commandement or charge given to the Priests? Might any of them have said to any man that appered to be cleane and whole, Thou shalt be leprous: I pronounce the sentence, which thou shalt not escape! I trust not. Then for the diversitie, as well of their offices as of the sentences which they pronounced, the phrases must be divers.

2. Where ye affirme that the Prophet could not touch their hearts but by declaring them to be hard-hearted, ye seeme not to understand what is the vertue and power of God's Word pronounced even by the mouth of man, which (as before we have declared) pearceth to the deepest secret that lieth within the heart; yea, and worketh that thing which the Prophete pronounceth and speaketh, how unapperant that ever it be to man's reason, or how stowtly and stubburnly that ever the wicked resist. Did not the wordes of Elias spoken unto Achab, after the murthering of Naboth, touch his heart? Yes, the very hypocrite himselfe had some sense and feling of God's just wrath; and both he and his posteritie, for all his princely pompe, did after fele the veritie of them: to witte, dogges did licke his blood; the flesh of Jesabell was eaten by dogges; his children and whole posteritie were rooted out of Israell. And thus did the wordes of the Prophete touch his heart (in the time when they were spoken) with a certeine feare, stupiditie, and trembling; which wordes were after of such power, strength, and veritie, that no male children were left alive to Achab in Israel.

a. And the same is true of Jeremies wordes and sentence, spoken against divers nations; whose faces albeit he never saw, yet did he so potently touch their heartes, that howsoever they despised his threateninges, yet was no word vainely spoken, but in effect was every thing complete as he pronounced. And wonder it is, that ye are ignorant in this vertue of God's Word,

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seing that ye confesse that Jeremie tooke the cuppe from the Lordes hand, which he was commanded to give to all nations, that they might drinke the cuppe of the Lordes wrath, saing unto them, "Drinke, and be drunken, and spew, and fall, and rise no more, becaus of the swerd which I will send among you." Was this, I praye you, a simple declaration; or was it not rather a sentence and decree so effectuall, that albeit neither Babylon, neither any other proud and wicked nation wold for that time beleve it, yet came it most effectually to passe? And I say that these wordes of Jeremie do manifestly repugne to your interpretation, and do sufficiently prove that those wordes spoken to Isai are otherwise to be understand then that he was commanded onely to declare what the people were. For as the wordes of Jeremie had this effect, that according as he spake, so came the destruction upon those proud nations; so lykewise had the wordes of God spoken to Isai the same effect which he pronounced. To the one he said, Thou shalt give unto them the cuppe of my wrath, that they may drinke it. The Prophet without feare did obey his commandement, and God did faithfully performe whatsoever his messinger had pronounced. Even so did God command Isai to blind and harden that stubborn and rebellious generation of the Jewes, by the preaching of his law, and by rebuking of their manifest impietie. And so he did, God working all to his glory according to his eternall purpose. And this, because your interpretation is not sufficiently confirmed by any phrase of the Scripture which ye have alledged, and also because it repugneth to the Scriptures which before I have adduced, we can not admitte it.

Jere. 25.

4.

Against your complexion or Epilogue, which is nothing but a superfluous repetition of those thinges, which sufficiently ye have not proved (althogh you so bragge), we say, That as God by his eternal Word, and power infinite, hath created all thinges; so hath he by His wisedom incomprehensible so disposed all thinges, that as nothing was created for the self, so

To the 5, 6, 7, 8.

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was nothing the appointer of the self to serve God as his glory required. But He, in his eternal counsel, appointed the end to every creature, to the which they shall once atteine, by such meanes as he most justly hath appointed. And therfor, seing his glorie doth no lesse require his just judgementes then his superaboundant mercie to be known, he hath in his eternall counsel elected some and rejected others, even before the foundations of the world. And albeit he created man after his own image, yet did God never determine that mankind should stand in Adam; but his just counsell and purpose was, that all men should fall in Adam, that the Elect might know the price of their salvation, Christ Jesus, in whom they were elected before that in Adam actually they did fall, or were created. And so God, willing to make his glorie to shine in all, hath prepared some vessels of mercie and some of wrath: to the one he hath frely given life everlasting in Christ Jesus his Sonne; the other he hath, for just causes, so rejected, that albeit with long pacience he suffereth their manifest rebellion, yet in the finall judgement he shall command them to go to the fire that never shalbe quenched. And this will and counsel of God is neither secret nor hidde from his Church, but is in his Word most manifestly reveled; and therfor of it we feare not to affirme, that even in the first promise, and ever since, hath God made a plaine distinction betwixt the Elect and the Reprobate, so that the purpose and counsell which before was hidde in God, was in time manifested unto man. Which will and counsell of God (becaus it is constant and immutable, like as God himselfe is,) must of necessitie take effect. And therfor I boldly affirme, that neither can any whom God in his e'ernal purpose hath reprobated become the Elect, and so be saved; neither yet can any of Christes elect nomber to life everlasting be reprobated, and so come to finall perdition. We further say, that albeit God's will in the selfe be one, to witte, the manifestation of his own glorie; yet as touching his creatures it hath divers respects, for God will the salvation of

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some, and he also will the just condemnation of others. And the contrarie of this doth God never declare in his Word, but rather doth most plainely revele it. And therfore this his godlie will is not called secrete, as that it is not expressed in his Word; but because that in his Word there is no cause assigned (God's good will onely excepted) why he hath chosen some and rejected others. And this knowledge is so necessarie to a Christian, that without the same can the heart of man never be sufficiently subjected unto God; neither can he render unto him due praise and honor, except that he acknowledge and confesse that God himselfe hath made difference betwixt him and others.

To your odious terms and dispitefull railing, I briefely say at this time, THE LORD shall judge! To my knowledge, there resteth no notable scripture which ye have alledged (or rather abused) for confirmation of your Error, which is not sufficiently answered, two places excepted. The one is of Ezechiel, affirming that God will not the death of a sinner; the other conteineth the wordes of Paul, saying, "God will all men to be saved:" which places, because you recite them here in the description of him whom you call the true God, I thoght it expedient to delay till this opportunitie, to the end that having to fight (as it were face to face) with the Devil himself, I might have some comfort of my God in entreating some place of his Holie Scriptures. Thus you procede with a mouth most execrable and blasphemous. To the 8.

THE ADVERSARIE. THE 44TH SECTION.

The properties of the God of the Carelesse by Necessitie: Their God's wrath exceedeth all his workes, for he hath reprobate the most part of the world afore the foundation of the world. He is slowe unto mercy, and ready to wrath; for he will not be intreated to save any of them whom he hath reprobate afore, but of necessitie, do what they can, they must be damned: neither is he omnipotent, which may do and leave undone what pleaseth him; for he is bound by his own absolut ordinance and infallible foresight to do onely all things as they be done. And becaus it so pleased him to shewe his power and strength, he styrred up Pharao, and many mo, to do wickedly: he giveth 1. 2. 3.

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wicked commandement and evill thoghtes to Semei, and many other: and therafter plagued them for their labor, onely because they were wicked instruments to work his will; for he made them naughtie vesselles to commit all abomination; neither could they choose but work wickedly, being his ves-
4. seles of wrath. He hathe two willes, one contrary to an other; for he saieth one thing, and thinketh another. He is worse then the Devill, for not onely tempteth he to do evill, but compelleth by immutable fore-ordinance and
5. secret will, without which nothing can be done. He is the Prince of Darknes, for from him come evill thoghtes, which are darknesse.

ANSWER.

Because that now I have to do not onely with a blasphemer, but even (as it were) with a Devill incarnate, my first and chief defence is to say, The Lord putte silence to thee, O Sathan! The Lord confound thy dispiteful counselles, by the which thou studiest to pervert the righteous way of the eternall God!

To the 1. But now of thee, O blasphemous mouth, I aske, If thou be able to forge to thee, and to thy pestilent faction, another God then that God who most justly did drowne, and destroy by water, all living creatures in earth, except so many as were preserved in the arke with Noah; who also did destroye by fire from heaven Sodom and Gomorra, with the cities adjacent, and the whole inhabitantes of the same, Lot and his two daughters onely reserved; who further, by the space of four thousand yeres, did suffer all nations to walk in their owne wayes, revealing onely his good will, and the light of his Word, to the seede of Abraham (to those that descended of Jacob I mean): canst thow, I say, forge to thyself another God then this eternall Majestie of our God, whom we do reverence, in whom we trust and most stedfastly beleve; whose Sonne Christ Jesus we preach to be the onely Saviour of his Church, and whose eternall veritie we mainteine, not onely against Jewe, Turke, and Papist, but also against you enraged Anabaptistes, who can admitte in God no justice which is not subject to the reach of your reason! Darest thou, and thy conspiracie, stand up and accuse God of crueltie, because that in these his workes, thou

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canst not deny but that mo were punished then were preserved; mo were left in darknes then were called to the true light! Shall not his mercie excede all his workes, except that he save the Devill, and those that justely be reprobated as he is! Stoupe Sathan under the empire of our Soveraigne God, whose will is so free, that nothing is able to constreigne or bind it. For that is onely libertie, that is not subject to mutabilitie, to the inconstancie or appetites of others, as most blasphemously you wold imagine God to be in his election and most just reprobation. By the which, in despite of Sathan, of thee his slave and sonne, and of all thy sect, he will declare his glorie, as well in punishing with tormentes for ever such blasphemers as you be, as in shewing the riches of his glorie to the members of his deare Sonne, who onely depend upon Christ Jesus, and upon his justice.

To the 2. What is Libertie. To the 3.

To purge my God from that injustice, or from those absurdities which thou woldest impute upon his Eternall Majestie, I will not labor, lest that either I should seeme to doubte of our own cause, either yet to be sollicite for the defense of our Eternall God. And therfore, seing that ye declare yourselves, not men ignorant, willing to learne, but devilles enraged against God, against his eternall and infinite justice, as I began so do I finish, The Lord confound thee, Sathan! The Lord confound you enraged dogges, which so impudently dare barke against the most just judgementes of God! And thus, leaving you to the handes of him, who sodanely shall revenge his justice from your blasphemies; for the cause of the simple, I say, first, That most maliciously ye accuse us, as that we should affirme God to be slow to mercy and readie to wrath; which blasphemie we protest before God, before his holy Angelles in heaven, and before his Church here in earth, did never enter into our heart; for the contrarie thereof we daily see and perceave, not onely in ourselves, to whom most mercifully he remitteth the multitude of our sinnes, but also in the most cruell ennemies of his Church.

To the 4, 5.

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We do not define what nomber God hath elected to life, neither yet what nomber presently God hath reprobated. Onely we stand content with that which the Holy Ghost hath revealed openly, to witte, that their be both Elect and Reprobate.

That the Elect can not finally perish, neither yet that the Reprobate can ever be saved, we constantly affirme. But we adde the causes, to wit, That because the one sort is given to Christ Jesus, by the free gift of God his Father before all times, therfor in time they come unto him; by power of whose Spirit they are regenerate, their darkenes is expelled, and from vertue they procede to vertue, till finally they attein to the glory promised. As the other sorte is left in their own corruption, so can they do nothing but obey their father the Devil, in whose bondage they justely are left. And so, where ye burden us that we say, "Let the Reprobate do what they can, yet they must be damned," ye do most shamefully belie us. For we say and teach, that whosoever declineth from evill, and constantly to the end doth good, shall most certenly be saved. But our doctrine is this, that because the Reprobate have not the Spirit of regeneration, therfor they can not do those workes that be acceptable before God.

How God is almightie and omnipotent, we have before confessed, to witt, that as He in his eternall wisedom foreseeth and appointeth all thinges, so doth his power put all thinges in execution, how and when it best pleaseth him. Neither can his wisedom, will, nor counsels be subject to any mutabilitie, unstablenes, or change: for if it so were, then his godly will and counsels did not depend upon himself, but upon his creatures; which is more then absurd.

Neither to Pharao, neither to Semei, neither yet to any other reprobate, did or doth God give either wicked commandement or evill thoght. But those wicked thoghtes and evill motions which be in them of their evill nature, and are stirred up by the instigation of the Devill, as he doeth not purge them, so doth his wisedom use them well to his owne glorie, to the ex-

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ercise of his children, and to the comfort of his Church; insomuch, that the verie tyranny of Pharao, the cursing of Semei, and the incest of Absalom, in so farre as they were God's workes, they were just and holy, because they were just punishmentes of their sinnes, an exercise for his children, and some part also of his fatherly correction for their offenses.

To the rest of your vanitie I will not answere; not because I feare your sophisticall subtilitie, but because I will not, (except that yet I be further provoked,) neither by tongue, neither yet by penne, once name or expresse your horrible blasphemies: which manifestly do witnes and declare, that you, as dogges enraged, without all reverence, do barke against God, because his workes do surmount your capacitie. The Lord speadely call you to repentance, or els so bridle your venemous tongues, that they be not able further to infect. Now to the rest.

The Adversarie.

The 45th Section.

The properties of the true God: God his mercie exceedeth all his workes. He hath made man like to his own image in Christe Jesus, in whom is no damnation. He is slowe unto wrathe and readie to foregive; he wilbe intreated of all, so that he biddeth all men everie where to repent, and offereth faith to all men. He is omnipotent, and may do, and leave undone, whatsoever shalbe his good pleasure: neither is it his pleasure and will that either Pharao, Semei, or any other, do sinne and come to destruction; for he willeth the deathe of no creature, but willeth all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the trueth. He hath but one will, which is ever onely good, reveled in his Word to them that feare him and kepe his commandementes: neither hath he any secret will contrary to this, but will performe whatsoever goeth out of his mouthe. He tempteth no man to sinne; he is the father of light, and cometh to destroye the workes of the Carelesse Libertines God, for he abhorreth all wickednes, and all wicked doers. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.

Answer.

In this description of your God (whom you do terme the true God), I do wonder of three thinges: First, that in this your description, ye dissent from your greate angel, Castalio. Secondly, how it is that ye have forgotten yourselves. And last,

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why ye omitte these properties which the Scriptures do no lesse attribute to God then any that you alledge. Your master and chief champion, Castalio, (now left for your comfort,) in the description of his God, thus writeth: "But that God, whom both nature, and reason, and the Scriptures do teach is ready to mercie, and slow to wrath; who hath created man, of whom all men are borne, to his owne image, lyke to himselfe, that he shoulde place him in Paradise, and give to him the blessed life: this God will that all men be saved, and that none perish; and therfore he hath sent his Sonne into the earth, that justice might superabound wheresoever sinne hath abounded, the light of whose justice doth illuminate every man that cometh into this world." Wonder it is, I say, that ye who so constantly have folowed your master in all this your worke, have dissented from him, or at least omitted his wordes, in these two pointes, which in this case be principall. For, first, by his description, he will that Nature and Reason shal no less teach you and your faction God, then shall the Scriptures. So that he whose workes you be not able to comprehend by nature and reason, shall not be to you the true God. And, secondarily, that except he will all to be saved, and that the light of his Sonnes justice do so illuminate all men comming into this world, that wheresoever sinne hath abounded, there must justice superabound, that to you lykewise he be no God. These be two chief pointes in this controversie.

For we constantly affirme, That the brightnes of our God doth so blind nature and reason, (as now they be corrupted,) that the naturall man can never atteine to those thinges which apperteine to God, to the knowledge of his will, neither yet to his true honor. For we know that the world hath not knowen God by wisedom, but, thinking themselves most wise, have becomen most vaine, insomuch, that they have worshipped the creatures more then the Creator. And thus beleve we, that nature and reason are not onely unable to leade us to the true knowledge of God, by the which we may atteine to life ever-

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lasting, but also we affirme, that they have bene maistresses of all errors and idolatrie. And therfore, say we, that Nature and Reason do leade men from the true God, but are never able to teach us, neither to expresse to us the eternall, the trew, and everliving God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Further, we doubte not to embrase, to beleve, to reverence, and to honor the Majestie of our God, who hath made division betwixt one sort of men and an other, as plainely before we have proved.

These being two chief pointes in this controversie, great wonder it is that of them ye make no expresse mention (as Castalio doth) in this your description. Is it because you are ashamed that such darkenes, and such grosse ignorance, should be in your great angell of light? Just cause, no doubte, have both you and he to be ashamed of your foolish imaginations. But yet I feare another thing more, which is this: That soddenly you will not committe the greate and secrete mysteries of your profession to your rude scholers. For it might perchance offend them, if at the first ye should affirme, (as in your writinges I can shew,) that Saint Paul taught a more perfect way to his scholers in secrete then that which he committed to writing; that Christ is not the eternall Sonne of the eternall God; that the Godhead of the Holy Ghost is but mannes imaginations; that Christes kingdome shall so florish, that wicked men shal utterly be suppressed even in this life; that Christes justice avaleth nothing, except man have a personall and perfect justice within himself; that man may fulfill and obey God's holy law; and that Christ hath no prerogative above his brethern, except this, that he is called the first-begotten. I omitte thinges much more absurd, because I will not offend the eares of the godly. These thinges, I say, you do not sodenly open to your scholers; but in the beginning, with pleasant persuasions of good life, of mortification, of the power of the Spirite, (which, rightly placed, is a doctrine most necessarie,) ye inflambe their heartes with a vaine confidence of their owne

The Secrete Doctrine of Anabaptistes.

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power, strength, and justice. And therafter, ye dissuade them from all exercises which may put them in minde of sinne and imperfection which remaineth in man. For neither will ye that they frequent the publike preaching of the Word, neither yet the administration of Christes sacramentes; for such thinges to your perfect men are nothing necessarie. But to be short, in the end ye bring them to the plaine contempt of God's free graces offered and given to his Elect in Christ Jesus. For in the end, these be your blasphemous voices openly affirmed in your privie assemblies: "What is our joye, but that we feele no sinne abiding in us! what is our comfort, but that we be able to fulfil the law! and what is our rejoising, but that we have a justice perfect in ourselves!" And thus seking to establish your own justice, neither can you nor your scholers be subject to the justice of God.

But (omitting this) I returne to your deceitfull craft. Ye dare not in expresse wordes affirme the vaine description of your master's God, but yet covertly ye say as much (as after shall appere); in which thing, as ye declare yourselves ingrate and unthankfull, that will not support your reverend Master in this his battell with your open patrocinie and plaine defense, so do ye shew yourselves most unworthye of credit amongest God's children. For who can credit those teachers that, in the beginning, and for their foundation and principalles, joyne together darkenes and light, lies and veritie; yea, that begin with a manifest untrueth, (as doth your Master Castalio,) affirming that nature and reason do teach the true God unto us, which is a manifest lie, as before we have proved. If ye say, he addeth also that the Scriptures do teach God unto us: I answer, that the more is his impudencie, and more dangerous is his venom. For what impudencie is it to preferre corrupt nature and blind reason to God's Scriptures, in such manifestation of God as our salvation requireth! Did Moses, Isai, or Christ Jesus, wil the ignorant to search nature, or to consult with reason, who should be the Messias promised; or did they not

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alwayes send such as lacked light to the Word which was reveled, to the Law, and to the Prophetes, and to the Scriptures, which did beare record of Christ Jesus, who is the onely way by the which men come to the true knowledge of the Father? True it is that the Gentiles, by contemplation of the creatures, atteined to that knowledge that there was a God; but how little this knowledge served for their salvation, the Apostle doth witnes. And therfore, I say that your Master is more then impudent, that dare preferre Nature and Reason to God's Scriptures. And further, his venom (in so saying) is more dangerous then if plainely he had affirmed that nature and reason alone had bene sufficient to have instructed man in all thinges apperteining to salvation.

For so declaring himself, the simple should have avoyded that error, as a pestilence most pernicious. But now in joining together those thinges which God hath so manifestly devided, as he hath devided light from darcknes, he doth nothing els but, as a traiterous murtherer, mixe and mingle poison with sweete lyquore. For in joining nature and reason with God's Scriptures, in the manifestation of God to man's salvation, he doth plainely witnes that the naturall man may boldly pronounce that those workes be none of God's, wherof reason can not see a just cause why so they should be wroght. For the fall of Adam, say you, and the induration of Pharao, the deceaving of Achab, and such others, were none of God's workes; But they came by his permission. And why so? Because the naturall man can not see how such workes can agree with God's goodnes and justice. And thus ye deny him to be the true God, who doth not laye before the blindnes of your Reason all his workes, that they by her judgement may be justified or condemned. O blasphemous mouthes! dare ye denie him to be the true God, of whom Moses, Job, David, and Paule affirme, that his secretes do apperteine to himself; that he will not make accompt to man of all his works; that his counsels are incomprehensible, his judgements a greate depth, and his

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wayes unsearchable! Thus much for that which ye omitte of your Master's words in his description, which I now admonish, lest after ye should trouble the simple with these your vanities, which from time to time ye foster and spred abrode.

In the 8. section, First Argument.

Now to the second, which I will but onely touch, to put you in minde that in doctrine ye are not constant; for before ye have affirmed, that we did all stand in Adam before that we did fall. 'For none (say you) falleth but he that standeth:" If we did

In the 9. section, First Argument.

all stand, then were we all predestinate to life. And after: "As we were all created in one man, that is, in Adam; so were we all created in one estate, that is, after the image of God." Of which places it is plaine, that ye understand that in Adam we were created to God's image, in Adam we were elected, and in Adam we were placed in Paradise, which you call the blessed life. But here you change your tune and say, "He hath made man like to his own image in Christ Jesus, in whom is no damnation." What should be the cause of this your sodein recantation and alteration of your sentence, I can not well conjecture, except it be this: That because experience doth convict you, that by Adam we are all wounded to death, that therfore you wolde all should receave life by Christ Jesus. And that doth your master affirme in bold and evident wordes, saing, "This God will all men to be saved, and that none shall perish; and therfor hath he sent his Sonne into the earth, whose justice should superabound wheresoever sinne hath abounded." This doth your Master boldly affirme, (because he wrote to his practised souldiours,) that which ye do in darke wordes persuade. But how vaine be both your persuasions, shall shortly appere, by examining the scriptures by you both alledged. He grounded his error upon the wordes of Paule, plainely falsified, and of John the Evangelist, whom he applieth not rightly. If you think me bolde that thus do accuse your Master and great angell of falsifying God's Scriptures, heare my proofe and then judge. He saith, "Wheresoever sinne hath abounded, there hath grace superabounded." Which wordes

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the Apostle doth not speake, but saith, "Where sinne hath abounded, there hath grace more abounded;" which proposition is most true, as it is most comfortable. For in Adam, David, Peter, and in all other God's elect children, did, and doth sinne abound, as the Apostle proveth all to have sinned, and to have nede of God's glorie. But in them did grace more abound, by the which they were delivered from the multitude of sinnes.

But as your proposition is not expressed by the Apostle, so it is most fals, which is most easie to be proved. For in Cain, Pharao, Judas, Pilate, Annas, Caiphas, Herode, and many other, did sinne abound, but in them did grace never so abound, that they were absolved from that damnation which is pronounced against all unfaithfull, in these wordes: "Whosoever shall not beleve shalbe condemned." And therfor, I say, that your Master's universall proposition is most fals, and he not onely a falsifier of the plaine Scriptures, but also a mainteiner of all impietie, of all idolatrie and wicked religion. For if it shalbe admitted, that "wheresoever sinne hath abounded there shall grace more abound," then shall there be no difference betwene the condition of those that beleve in Christ, and those that be despisers of his Evangile offered. Let the indifferent reader judge, whether that you or we do now more smell of a Carelesse and a libertine's life. But this after.

The wordes of the Evangelist are plainely wrested. For he affirmeth not that every man is illuminated to salvation, neither yet that Christ is offered (as ye wold shift) to every man; but speaking of the excellencie of Christ Jesus, in whom was life, and by whom all thinges were created, he saith, "This was the true light, which doth illuminate all men that come into this world." In which wordes, he speaketh nothing of mannes redemption, neither yet of any light which man receiveth necessarie for the same, but onely of that light which was given to man in his creation; a part whereof, how small soever it be, doth yet remaine in man, and that not by his own power, but John 1.

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by the free gift of God, in whom we live, are moved, and have our being.

And that the Evangelist speaketh nothing of the light of our redemption, is evident by his owne wordes. For before and after he doth witnes, that the light did shine in darkenes, but darkness did not apprehend it, that is, receive and acknowledge it. "That he came amongest his owne, but his owne did not receive him. That such as did receive him, were neither borne of blood, of the will of the flesh, neither yet of the will of man, but of God." By which wordes it is manifest, that the Evangelist most evidently declareth, that the light of salvation is not common unto all, but that it is proper to those onely that are borne of God. He doth further teach that all reason and naturall understanding, which man hath by his first birth, is so choked, so blinded, and extinguished, that man must nedes be borne againe, before he can see the kingdome of God; that Christ Jesus must nedes illuminate those that be borne blinde, or els (without remedy) they shall perish in their blindnes. And thus, I say, the one text your Master doth falsely, and the other most violently wrest.

Answer to the 1.

But now to your wordes: "God is slowe (say you) to wrath, and ready to forgive. He will be intreated of all, so that he biddeth all men everie where to repent, and offereth faith unto all men." I will not question with you at this time, why in this description of your true God ye make no mention of the Sonne, which is the eternall Word and wisedom of the eternall Father, neither of the Holye Ghost, who, proceding from the Father, is equall with the eternall Sonne. But this is the one thing of which I did wonder in reading this your description, that ye omitte these properties which God attributeth to himself. You do continually repete, that God is slow to wrath, ready to forgive; that he willeth all men to be saved; that he will be intreated of all men; that he willeth the death of no creature. Which properties in God we confesse, and which sentences we acknowledge to be most true, if they be rightely

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understand. But why do ye not likewise teach your scholers that God is zelous; that he is a consuming fire; that he punisheth the iniquitie of the fathers upon the sonnes, unto the third and fourth generation; and that his justice cannot suffer sinne to eskape punishment, no not even in his most dearest children. Ye have accused us that we deceave the people, teaching them a carelesse and libertine life. And therefore here againe, I require the indifferent Reader to consider, which of our doctrines giveth most libertie; whether you that affirme that your true God will be intreated of all, or we that constantly mainteine that God heareth no sinners, or that such as delite in iniquitie are so odious in his presence, that although they crie and howle in their calamities, yet will he not heare them.

But now let us examine your Scriptures apart. "God is slow to wrath," say you: true it is, but yet he recompenseth the slownes of punishment with the severity of his judgmentes, which hath bene, and shall be executed against such as heape to themselves God's wrath, by abusing his long sufferinges. "He is readye to forgive:" we acknowledge this to be the voice of our God; but we feare not to affirme, that the remission of sinnes is the free gift of God, given to his Church by Christ Jesus; like as are faith and life everlasting, which are not common to al men in generall, but particularly do apperteine to God's children. "He will be intreated of all," say you, so that he biddeth all men every where repent, and offereth faith to all men.

Your first proposition is utterly fals, neither yet is there any such sentence conteined in the whole Scriptures. True it is that God is mercifull, gentle, liberall, Protector, Refuge, and Life to all. But to which all! To such as hate iniquitie, love vertue, lament for their sinnes past, call upon his name in veritie, and do unfainedly seke for his helpe in the day of their trouble. Of all these, no doubte, he will be intreated, how wicked and unthankfull so ever they have bene before. But by the contrarie, he will destroy all that speake lies. He hateth all that worke iniquitie: neither will he shew himself mercifull

Answer.
Psal. 30.
Psal. 86.
Psal. 69.
Psal. 85.
Psal. 5.
Psal. 75.

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to such as maliciously do offend. But all the sinners of the earth shall drink the dregges of that cuppe which the Eternall
Psal. 18. holdeth in his hande. For he will destroy all those that traiterously decline from him. They shal crie, but he will not heare: He shall answere unto them, "Let your lovers, whom ye have preferred to me, deliver you." Such as withdraw their eares from the crie of the poore, shal crye, but shall not be heard; yea, albeit the blood-thirstie will multiplie praiers and streatch forth their handes, yet will not God heare them. For his countenance is bent against all that committe wickednes. And thus I say, you shall never be able to prove that God will be intreated of all, except you can confute the Holy Ghost, and make him to recant these and innumerable other places. As mercy is promised to his children, (for they onely call in veritie, they onely hate sinne, and folow vertue,) so is severe judgment pronounced against the wicked of the world. None of these sentences: "God biddeth all men every where to repent," and offereth faith to all men, are found in that sense and meaning that ye do understand them, in the whole Scriptures. True it is that Isai the prophete, and Christe Jesus himself, with his Apostles, do call upon all to come to repentance: But that generalitie is restrained by their own wordes, to those that thirst, that hunger, that mourne, that are laden with sinne, as before we have taught. That place of the Actes ye either understand not, or else willingly ye abuse it. For Paule saith
Act. 17. not that God offereth faith to all, but saith: "that he hath perfourmed to all that promise which he made to man, which was to send a Saviour, for man's redemption, by whome also he will judge the world." Consider the text, and you shall understand the meaning of the Apostle to be such.

You proceed, "He is omnipotent, and may do, and leave undone, what so ever shall be his good pleasure."

Answer. The omnipotencie of God, and fredome of his wil, we most constantly mainteine: but we can not admitte that our God be variable, unconstant, subject to ignorance; neither yet that

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his Godly will depend upon the will and disposition of man. For that were not to leave God's will at fredome, but to bring it under the bondage of his creatures. Further, these wordes, "God may do, and leave undone, whatsoever shall be his pleasure," do smell somewhat of one of your articles offered unto us in this Churche; wherein some of your sect do affirme, that God may be fully purposed this day to do one thing, and that tomorow he may repent, and be purposed to do the contrarie. Which cogitations of God are most blasphemous and wicked. For if his counsels be mutable and inconstant, then ceaseth he to be the God, who neither is, nor can be changed. If you had said, "Because that God is omnipotent, therefor he may do, and leave undone, whatsoever his good pleasure is," you had said well, understanding that the purpose of God is infinite; that therefore of his good will he so mollifieth the heartes of some men, that of most cruell and enraged ennemies, against his trueth and poore servantes, he maketh them, and that soddeinly, preachers of his gospell, and protectors to his Church. But when ye say, "He may do whatsoever is his good pleasure," ye offer occasion to the captious to suspecte that you wold affirme, that God's good will and pleasure may change; and that is to deny his Godhead. But I will burden you no further then ye shall plainely confesse, I onely put you in minde, that the Holy Ghost useth no such phrase.

You proceed, saying, "Neither is it his pleasure and will that either Pharao, Semei, or any other should sinne, and come to destruction." To the 2.

Before, we have confessed that iniquitie and sinne is so odious before God, that in it can his goodnes never delyte, neither yet can he have pleasure in the destruction of any creature, having respecte to the punishment onely. But seeing that God's glorie must nedes shyne in all his creatures, yea, even in the perpetual damnation of Sathan, and torment of the Reprobate, why shal not he will, and take pleasure, that so it come to passe. Albeit your phrenetique braines can not comprehend the brightnes ther- Answer.

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of, yet will He one day declare that all his workes are wrought in justice, wisedome, and equitie. I thinke you will not deny, but that Pharao, Semei, Judas, and others, came to destruction, like as in the end shall all reprobate do. Then do I aske, If God at no time, for no purpose, respect, nor end, did so will, how then came their destruction to passe? By sinne, say you; that we denie not: but yet the question is not answered. For continually we demand, If in God there was not power, either to have impeded their sinne, or yet after their sinne to have called them to repentance, if it had so pleased his eternal wisdome and goodnes? Consider your foly, and give glorie to God who doth whatsoever he will in heaven and in earth.

But now to that which foloweth: "For he will the death of no creature, but will all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the trueth."

Answer. How violently you wrest the wordes of the Prophet, and of the Apostle, shall shortly appere, after I have reasoned a litle with you, how these your Propositions do agree with that which goeth before. Ye have affirmed, that God is ready to mercie, and slow to wrath, in which wordes you shew and confesse, that in the Godhead there is readines to shew mercy, and also that there is a justice, which must execute wrath upon the disobedient. And so in the nature of the Godhead ye confesse mercy and justice. But here you say, that God will the death of no creature, but that he will all men to be saved; which last wordes being understand as ye do urge them, must destroy the former nature of God, and take awaye his justice. For if he absolutely will the death of no creature, then will he no punishment to folowe sinne. And if he will no punishment, then willeth he his justice to cease, and so, consequently, must one of the properties of his godlie nature cease. Studie for an answere, to make your former wordes and latter wordes better agree, or els ye wilbe compelled to confesse, that God, for some respecte, willeth both death and damnation to come upon some creatures. Further, if God willeth all men to be saved, and to

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come to the knowledge of the trueth, and yet many do perishe in ignorance, and shalbe condemned as Christ Jesus doth pronounce: then must it either folow, that God's will is mutable, and so be unconstant, and not at all times like to himself, or els that he is not omnipotent. For if God, at the first creation of man, wold all men to be saved, (as ye alledge,) then wold I know when this will was changed? After that man had offended, say you, Then yet have I obteined, that in God's will there was mutabilitie. For after sinne he wold, and by his sentence pronounced, that Adam and his posteritie should suffer the corporall death, yea, and that the sede of the serpent should have the head broken downe; by the which is ment the spirituall death, which neither of both (as you affirme) did God will before. If you reply, God's will towardes the salvation of all mankind did remaine the same after sinne which was before; for a generall promise of deliverance was made, by the woman's seede that was promised.

I have before plainely proved, that a difference most mani- Answer.
fest betwixt the two seedes was made in that promise. But admitting that the promise had bene generall, and so that the will of God this day remaineth the same, which ye alledge it to be, to witt, that he willeth the death of no sinner, but that he willeth all men to be saved; can you deny, but that a separation and division of the shepe from the goates, of the Electe from the Reprobate, shalbe made at the glorious comming of the Lord Jesus? Shall not these most joyfull wordes be said unto them that shall stand upon the right hand, "Come ye the blessed of my Father, possesse the kingdome which was prepared for you from the beginning?" And shall not this most fearefull sentence be pronounced and executed against the other, "Depart ye cursed, go to the fire prepared for the devill and for his angels?" Shall the Sonne of God, in pronouncing sentence, do any thing that day repugning to the will of his heavenly Father? I thinke you will not so affirme. Then if God's will, in the day of judgment, shall be that many

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shalbe adjudged to torment perpetual, and his will in the creation of man was, and this day yet remaineth, that all men shall be saved, then of necessitie it doth follow that God's will shall change. If you say, that death and damnation cometh not by God's will, but by the sinne and unbelief of man, you have releved yourself nothing: for if death be one thing, and life be another; damnation one thing, and salvation another; then if God this day will all men to be saved, and so to have life, and yet that day he shall will many to be damned to torment perpetuall, (what causes so ever you alledge,) I shall obteine one of two, to witte, that either God's will is, and may be mutable, or els that there is a power superior to his majestie and godly will. For if willingly he shall damne those, whom before he wold, and had determined to save, then is his will and determination changed. And if he shall damne those unwillingly, whom willingly he would have saved, then is he not omnipotent. Consider now upon whom falleth the snowe, and who do cast themselves in greatest absurdities.

Now it resteth to declare how violently ye wrest the wordes of the Prophet and of the Apostle. The prophete, speaking in the persone of God, saieth, "I will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he converte, and live." And the Apostle affirmeth, that God will all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the trueth. Hereupon ye conclude, God will the death of no creature: this is your first violence which you do to the text. For the Prophete saith not, "I will the death of no creature," but saith, "I will not the death of a sinner." Ye are not ignorant, I suppose, what difference there is betwext an universall negative, and an indefinite, or particulare. Where ye say, God willeth the death of no creature, ye speake generally and universally, excepting none. But so doth not the Prophete, for he saith not, "I will the death of no creature," neither yet "I will the death of no sinner," but simply saith, "I will not the death of a sinner." I wonder that ye consider not that as there is difference betwixt creatures and creature, so

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that also there is difference betwext sinners and sinner. Some creatures are appointed to death, for the use and sustentation of man. And dare you say, that this is done against God's will? We be taught the contrarie by his owne mouth. If you, correcting your generalitie, shall say, that you meane onely that God will the death of no man. And I feare not yet to joyne with you, and against you to affirme, that God hath willed, doth will, and shall will the death of some men. The Holy Ghost, speaking of the sonnes of Heli the High Priest, 1 Reg. 2. saith: "But they did not heare the voice of their father, because the Lord would kil them." And Moises saith, "Sihon king of Deut. 2. Hesbon would not suffer us to passe through his countrie, for the Lord thy God did harden his minde, and strengthen his heart, that he shoulde give him into thy handes." How often doth Moses and Josua declare unto the people, that God wold kill, roote oute, and destroye, those wicked nations from before the face of his people! And were all those kinges, whom Josua did kill, killed against God's will? The Holy Ghost affirmeth the contrarie. For it is written, "the Lord did trouble them before Israel, and he did strike them with a great slaughter. And while that they did flee before the Israelites, and were in the descense of Bethoron, the Lord cast downe upon them from heaven greate stones; and many more perished by the haile stones then were slaine with the swerd of the children of Israel." If the destruction, slaughter, and death, of these wicked men, and of the greate host of Senacherib, was not the will of God, I can not tell how man shall be assured of his will. For the plaine word did before promise, that the Lord should destroye them; and the fact doth witnes the constancie and performance of his will. And the same thing doth God this day, and shall do to the ende of the world, when he shall adjudge the reprobate (as before is said) to the deathe perpetuall; and that not against his will, but willingly, for the manifestation of his just judgementes, and declaration of his own glorie. And therefor, I say, that your proposition, saying, "God willeth the death of no

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creature," is manifestly false, as it that repugneth to God's justice and to his evident Scriptures.

Ezec. 18. The minde of the Prophete was to stirre such as had declined from God, to returne unto him by true repentance. And because their iniquities were so many, and offenses so great, that justly they might have despaired of remission, mercie, and grace, therefore doth the Prophet, for the better assurance of those that should repent, affirme, "That God deliteth not, neither willeth the death of the wicked." But of which wicked! Of him, no doubte, that truely should repent, in his death did not, nor never shall God delyte. But he deliteth to be knowen a God that sheweth mercye, grace, and favour to such as unfeinedly call for the same, how grevous so ever their former offenses have been. But such as continue obstinate in their impietie, have no portion of these promises. For them will God kill, them will he destroye, and them will he thrust, by the power of his Word, into the fire which never shalbe quenched. The Apostle in these wordes: "God willeth all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the trueth," speaketh not of every man, and of every particular persone, but of all men in generall, that is to say, of men of all estates, all conditions, all realmes, and all ages. For as in Christ Jesus there is neither Jew nor Gentile, neither man nor woman, free man nor servant, but all are one in him, so can no estate, no condicion of man, no realme, nor no age, be proved so wicked and so corrupt, but out of the like hath God called some to the participation of his light, and to salvation and life by Christ Jesus; and that this is the very naturall meaning of the Holy Ghost, the texte itselfe doth witnes. For the Apostle immediately before willeth praiers and supplications to be made for all men, for kinges, and for all that were placed in authoritie.

And because that the Church was chiefely oppressed by such, this doubte might have risen: Are we then bound to pray for those that are expresse and conjured ennemies against God!

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"You are, (saith the Apostle,) for that is good and acceptable before God our Saviour, who will all men to be saved:" that is, God willeth you to pray for your persecuters, that their eyes may be opened, and they converted to the living God; who, no doubte, will save some of all estates, of all conditions and vocations of men. For the nations are given to Christ Jesus by inheritance; Kinges shalbe the feeders of the Church; Queenes shalbe nurses; and in his holy Temple shall all sing praise. If this interpretation (which we doubt not to be the verie meaning of the Holy Ghost) can not satisfie you, then will I aske of you, If God will men otherwise to be saved then by Christ Jesus? or, as the Apostle speaketh, by comming to the knowledge of the veritie? Plaine it is, that by the wordes of the Apostle ye can conclude none otherwise. For as he saith, "God will all men to be saved," so doth he adde, "and willeth all men to come to the knowledge of the veritie." Which word "willeth," albeit it be not expressedly repeted in the second member, yet of necessitie it must be understand as those that be but meanly sene in the Greke or Latine tongue do evidently see. Then, if I shall sufficiently prove, that God willeth not all men to come to the knowledge of the veritie, in such sort as the Apostle meaneth, shall it not infallablye follow, that God will not all men to be saved, in such sense as you understand.

That God willeth not all men to come to the knowledge of that veritie, by the which man is verely made free from the bondage of Sathan, is evident, not only by those whom we do see walke in darkness and ignorance, but also by the manifest Scriptures of God, who called Abraham, making to him, and to his sede, the promise of salvation, saying, "I will be thy God, and the God of thy sede after thee," which promise he kept secrete many ages from the rest of the world. When he did notifie his law unto Israel, and when Moses did repete the same, he said, "Behold, I have laid before you this day life and death, benediction and execration; chose therefore life, that thou and thy sede may live." If God wold that all men Deut. 30.

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and all nations indifferently should come to the same knowledge, why were not the lawes, statutes, and judgements of God made manifest to others, as they were to Israel? And if you answer that so they were, the Holy Ghost shall convict you of a lie. For he affirmeth, that God had not done so to all nations, and that his judgements he had not reveled nor made knowen unto them. But if that plaine division made by God himselfe betwixt Jew and Gentile, during the time of the law, doth not fully satisfie you, heare yet the sentence of our Master Christ Jesus, who saith to his Disciples, "To you it is given to understand the secretes of the kingdom, but unto others in parables, that having eyes they should not see." And that most plainely in that his solemned thankesgiving, he saith, "I praise thee, O Father, for thou hast hidde these thinges from the prudent, and from the wise, but thou hast reveled them to little ones." If God wold have had the true knowledge of himselfe, and of his Sonne Christ Jesus, common to all, why should Christ himselfe affirme, "That to some it was given, and to others it was not given; to some it was reveled, and from others it was hidde?" And therefore, seing it is plaine that God will not give his true knowledge to all, (yea, to some he doth never offer it,) ye shall never be able to prove, that God will all men to be saved. For the onely meanes to atteine to salvation and to life, is to know and embrace God to be our mercifull Father in Christ Jesus, to which knowledge whosoever doth not atteine, (I meane of those that come to the yeares and age of discretion,) can have no assurance to be saved. This were sufficient to convict you, even in your owne conscience. For albeit malice will not suffer you to give place to the plaine veritie, yet shall the weight thereof so oppresse your pride, that when you do open your mouth against it, yet shall ye be witnesses even against yourselves.

But yet, for the cause of my simple brethren, I will adde two thinges, first, How all such places, as either make a general promise of salvation to all, or yet that do pronounce God's wrath

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against all, must be understand. Secondarily, What sinners they are whose death God will not. For the first, I say, that whosoever doth denie, that from the beginning there hath bene, this day are, and to the ende shall remaine, two armies, bandes, or companies of men, whom God in his eternall counsell hath so devided, that betwixt them there continueth a battell, which never shalbe reconciled untill the Lord Jesus put a finall ende to the miseries of his Church; who doth not understand the trueth of this, (I say,) doth neither know God, neither his Sonne Christ Jesus; neither yet do such beleve his Word, in which both the one sort and the other are most manifestly expressed. The one of these armies is called the Church of God; the elect spouse of Christ Jesus; the shepe appointed to slaughter; the kingly priesthode; the sonnes of God, and the people redemed: by ancient writters it is termed the Citie of God. The other is called the Sinagogue of Satan; the church malignant; cruell, deceatfull, and blood-thirstie wolves; progenie of vipers; sonnes of the Devill; workers of iniquitie; and such as worship the beast and his image. And according to the divers natures, conditions, and endes of these two companies, doth the Scripture pronounce generall sentences and universall propositions, which, notwithstanding, must be restreined to those of whom the Holy Ghost meaneth. For neither justly may those sentences spoken of God's Elect be referred to the Reprobate; neither yet such as be spoken of the Reprobate sorte be rightly applied to the Elect, except it be for terrifying of their conscience, and that onely for a season. As Christ Jesus called Peter Sathanas, and Nathan called David the sonne of death, I will adduce examples of the one sort and of the other, that the matter may be more evident.

The Prophet Isai (which place also our Master alledgeth), speaking of God's Elect children, saith, "They shall all be taught of God; and they shall know me from the least to the greatest." "I shall powre forth of my spirit on all flesh." "All flesh shall see the salvation of God." "The

Isa. 54. John 6. Joel. Luke 3.

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Psal. Isa. 26. Isa. 60. Galat 3. 1 Thes. 5.

Lord raiseth up all that fall." "All the inhabitants of the earth shall learne justice." "All men shall come out of Saba." "All thy people shalbe just." "I shall comfort all that mourne." "You be all the sonnes of God, ye be all the sonnes of light." These, and many mo places which be universally spoken, must be restreyned to God's children onely who be elected in Christe Jesus. For those that be without his body, are neither taught of God, neither yet know they God in such sort as the Prophet there meaneth. Into them is never powred the Spirite of sanctification. They give never unto God true honour and glorie. They neither learne justice, neither yet are they just. They are not the sonnes of God by adoption, neither yet the sonnes of light, whose workes shine before men to the praise of our heavenly Father; but remaine ignorant, prophane idolaters, filthie persones, replenished with darknes as the sonnes of the Devill; and therefore can not these former sentences, which apperteine to God's children onely, be rightly spoken or pronounced of the reprobate. Psal. 22. Of the other sort, it is said, "All that see me have mocked me, they put furth their tongues, they shake their heades." These wordes spake David in the persone of Christ; and yet, God forbid, that we should think that all (without exception) did so mocke and jest at Christ; no, not even in his greatest extremitie. For some, we reade, stode beside his crosse with sorowfull heartes. Some returned, giving open confession that he was the Sonne of God. And the thefe began to be a preacher, even when others did most dispitefully rayle. And therefore, where it is said, "All that saw me did mocke me," that generalitie must be restreined to those enraged dogges, the Priestes, Scribes, wicked souldiours, and most unthankfull people, who of very malice did deny and crucifie their Lord, and Messias that was promised. Isai and Jeremie, speaking of the destruction of Jerusalem, and of the causes of the same, say, "I shall consume you all at once, and ye shall all be ashamed by a people that shall not profit you." "They

Isa. 30. Isa. 56.

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have all followed their owne waies; every man gapeth for bribes." "Why will ye contend with me? ye have all declined from me." "From the least to the most everie one is bent upon avarice; they are all traitours;" they are all (I say) traitours, every brother deceaveth another. "All men contemne me; all men hold me in execration." Jere. 7. Jere. 6. Jere. 15.

If these, and other lyke places, shalbe understand so universaly as they appere to be spoken, then must we be compelled to say, that no true fearer of God remayned in Jerusalem when the Prophetes did preach, but that all were blood-thirstie, all avaricious, all idolaters, and all dumme dogges: the contrarie whereof is evidently declared. For Isai had the children whom the Lord had given unto him, who albeit they were holden as monsters amonge men, yet did they patientlye abide the Lord. Jeremie had Baruch, his faithfull scribe, notwithstanding his weaknes and infirmitie. Abedmelech feared the Lord, was favourable to the Prophete, and therefore saved he his soule for a praye, and was delivered from that day of vengeance. And therefore these universall sentences must also be restreyned and kept within their own boundes, like as these: "All have left me; all seke the thinges that apperteine unto themselves, and not those thinges that be of God." Which sentences, except they be restreined, we shall condemne the dearest children of God, who, in Paules daies, did valiantly fight against the prince of this world. These examples of the one sorte and of the other I have adduced, to lette the simple understand, that such generall sentences of necessitie must be so restreined, that difference may be kept betwixt the Elect and the Reprobate; for els we shall do nothing in explaining Scriptures but confound light with darknes. For if the wordes of our Master Christ Jesus, saying, "All shalbe taught of God," shalbe so generally understand, that no exception be admitted, then of necessitie it is, that all men, and every persone, shall come to the true knowledge of Christ Jesus; for of that knowledge doth he speake in that place. But the con- 2 Tim. 4.

The wicked be not taught of God.

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trarie thereof is most evident, even by Christ Jesus his owne wordes, who putteth a plaine difference betwixt them that be given to him by his Father, and betwixt them that be not given.

God will not the death of a sinner explained.

But now, let us briefly consider what sinners they are whose death God will not, but rather that they convert and lyve. Sainct John, in his Epistle saith, "If we say we have no sinne, we deceave ourselves, and the veritie is not in us. If we confesse our sinnes, he is faithfull and just to remitte to us our sinnes, and to clense us from all unrighteousnes," &c. And after, "Whosoever commiteth sinne transgresseth also the law, for sinne is the transgression of the law. And ye know that he is reveled to take away our sinnes, and in him is no sinne. As many as byde in him (that is, in Christ Jesus) sinne not: whosoever sinneth hath not sene him, neither hath knowen him," &c. "He that committeth sinne is of the Devill, for the Devill sinneth from the beginning," &c. "Whosoever is borne of God commiteth not sinne, for his sede abideth in him; neither can he sinne, because he is borne of God."

1 John 1.

1 John 3

Of which wordes it is evident, that there be two sortes of sinners, the one be they who mourne, lament, and bewaile their owne wretchednes and miserie, unfainedly before God, confessing not onely that their whole nature is sinfull and corrupt, but also that daylie they so offend the Majestie of their God, that most justly they deserve the tormentes of hell, if Christes justice, and Christes mediation, (which by faith they embrace,) should not deliver them from the wrath to come. To these is not sinne imputed, for the blood of Christe purgeth them from all sinne, his advocation and intercession maketh to them an enterance to the throne of their Father's grace. To them is given the Spirit of sanctification, which, from time to time, as it reveleth their sinnes, so doth it mortifie and purge the same. Not that ever in this life God's Elect hath been, are, or shalbe so cleane purged from sinne, that the flesh lusteth not against the spirit; as sometimes affirmed the Pellagians, and those

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that then were called Cathari,[1] that is, cleane purged; and now also do the Anabaptistes renew the same most pestilent error, by the which Christ Jesus, his justice, his office, and perpetuall mediation, is utterly destroyed. In such sort, I say, are not God's children purged in this life, that neither they fele sinne, neither yet the motions and entisementes of the same. But they are so purged, that sinne raigneth not in their mortall bodies. For the sede of God, which is the vertue, power, efficacie, and operation of his Holie Spirite, suffereth them not to delyte in sinne. But as they are first called from darcknes to light, and from the bondage of Sathan to the libertie of God's children, so when they sinne, (as there is none that sinneth not,) they are called againe by true repentance to their former societe and felowship with Christ Jesus. The death of such sinners did God never will; neither yet can he will. For from all eternitie they were his Elect children, whom he gave to his deare Sonne to be his enheritance; whom the Sonne receaved into his protection and savegard; to whome he hath manifested, and to the end shall manifest himselfe, and the loving kindnes of his heavenlie Father; in whose heartes he writeth the law of God, and maketh them to walke in his commandements, ever thirsting to a further and more perfect justice then they find within themselves by reason of their corruption. The death, I say, of those sinners God will not, but he will that they repent and live. The Apostle Saint Peter saith, "The Lord that hath promised is not slow; but he is long suffering toward us, while that he will none to perish, but will receave all to repentance." The Apostle here meaneth not that all, 2 Pet. 3.

[1] The *Cathari* (or Puritans) of the third century, were a branch of the *Novatians*. They rebaptized their proselytes, but refused to admit apostates, or persons guilty of heinous crimes, into the Church, which, they maintained, had no power to pardon them. Hence, some of those who apostatised during the heats of persecution returned, through despair, to Paganism.—(Encyclopædia Metropolitana, vol. x. p. 170.) During the eleventh century, the *Paulicians*, who were reckoned a branch of the Manichæans, migrated to Italy, and were called *Paterini* and *Cattari*. The name was also applied to the *Albigenses*.—(Ib. pp. 579, 690.)

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without exception, shalbe receaved to life by true repentance, but that the cause why God so long deferreth (as it were) the extreme judgement, is, that the Elect number of God's childrea may be complete, (as answere was given to those that cried under the aulter, to be revenged upon the tyrannes that dwell on the earth,) of these his Elect children God will none to perish, as before is said.

But there is ane other sort of sinners, farre different from these. For neither are they displeased with themselves, neither yet hate they iniquitie, but against God's expresse commandements furiously they runne, with Cain to murther the innocent, with Pharao to oppresse the people of God, with Judas to betray the knowen and professed Veritie; and, finally, so delyte they in all filthines and impietie, that they can not repent. The eyes of such be blinded, their hearts are hardened, they are given over into a reprobate minde. And for them doth not Christ Jesus pray, and therefore they can do nothing but headlonges runne from evill to worse, as the Devill (to whose tyranny they are committed) doth drive them, till finally they come to perdition; which ende was appointed unto them, not against God's will, but by his will immutable in his eternall counsell. For no lesse will he that the severitie of his judgements be seene in the vessels of wrath, then that the riches of his grace be praised in the vessels of mercie. Storme and rage, spew furth your venom and blaspheme, till ye provoke God's vengeance at once to be powred forth upon your owne heades; this sentence will he never retracte. He will have mercie upon whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he
To the 6. maketh hard-hearted. That God in himselfe hath but one will, which is holy, just, and permanent, that in him there is no contrarietie; that he is faithfull, and doth performe whatsoever he doth promise. What we understand by God's secrete will, and how he tempteth no man, I have before sufficiently declared. And therefore I will not trouble the Reader with the repetition of the same.

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Now, let us heare what is your judgement of us, and how ye extolle yourselves.

THE ADVERSARIE.

THE 40TH SECTION.

As these goddes be of contrarie nature, so do they begette children of a contrarie nature; the fals god begetteth unmercifull, proud, ambitiouse, and envifull children; bloody persecutors of others for their conscience saik; evill speakers, impacient, contenciouse, and seditious children. And they be like unto their father, in that they speake one thing with their mouth, and think another with their heart. They can never be without filthy thoghtes and wicked motions, for such poyson do they receave of their father. The trew God begetteth mercifull, humble, lowlye, and loving children; abhorring from blood, persecuting no man; good speakers, pacient, and detesting all contentions, chiding, and brawling; and they be like unto their Father, in that whatsoever they speak with their mouth, they think with their heart; they be alwaies moved with good thoghtes and godly revelations, for such grace receave they plenteously of their Father. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7

ANSWER.

It may seme by the description of these your two goddes (for neither of both, as ye describe them, is the true, living, and eternall God), that ye studie to renew the damnable error of the Manichies, who imagined two beginners, the one of all goodness, and of all good creatures; the other of all iniquitie, and of wicked creatures; affirming further, that the good and the mercifull God was overcome for a time by him that was wicked and evill. And because that the plaine Scriptures did confute these blasphemies, therefor did they denie the authoritie of Moises, and the certentie of all other Scriptures that made any thing against their error. If manifestly ye did take upon you the defense of those your fathers, as that ye do of Pellagius, of Donatus, and of the Papistes, (for of all these adulterous fathers, ye be adulterous children,) then wolde I from Augustine, (whom God stirred up, no doubte, in the daies of darkenes, most learnedly and most plainely by infallible Scriptures, to confute those heresies,) from him, I say, I might take artillerie all ready prepared, able inough to overthrow your buildinges and munitions, appere they never so strong. But

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oecause (as before I have said) my purpose is not to burden you further then you do confesse, I onely admonish the reader to beware of such pestilences as beginne to call the truth of God, reveled in his holy Word, in doubt, and do persuade men to credite dreames and revelations, howsoever they appere to repugne to that which is reveled in the Word. Of such men, I say, oght Christes flock to take hede; as also of those who make of equall authoritie such bookes as yet the Holy Ghost hath never commended to the Church of Christe, with these that are written by Moises, the Prophets, the Evangelists, and Apostles, and that by inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

That some of you be infected with this most pestilent poison, I am able to prove by mo argumentes then one. Being at London the winter before the death of King Edward,[1] one of your faction required secrete communication of me, in which after that earnestly he had required of me closeness and fidelitie, because that the matters that he had to communicate with me were so weightie, and of such importance, as sythence the daies of the Apostles the like was never opened unto man. In the ende, after many wordes, (which I neither gladly heard, neither yet will now write,) he gave me a booke, written (as he said) by God, even as well as was any of the Evangelists. This his booke he adjured me (as it were) to reade, and required to have my judgement of it. My answer was, that at his request I wold reade it, so that he wold be content to reason with me of the chiefe pointes in the same conteined; but to pronounce sentence or judgement, that could I not usurp, being but one man, farre inferior to many of my brethren, the preachers of God's Word in that realme. Alwaies he urged me to reade his booke. And I wondering what mysteries it should conteine, called to me a faithfull brother, who then (as pleased God) was present with me, named Henry Farrour, marchant, to whom I opened the mater, by whose counsell, and in whose presence I beganne to reade his boke. The first proposition

[1] This refers to the year 1552: See vol. i. p. xv., xvi.

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wherof was: "God made not the world, neither yet the wicked creatures in the same conteined, but they had their beginning from another, that is, from the Devill, who is called the Prince of the World;" which proposition, plainly repugning to God's Word, I did impugne, and beganne to declare unto him for what cause Sathan had that title, to be called the Prince of the World. But he utterly denying either to reason and dispute, either yet to be reformed in any point that there was written, commanded me to reade forwarde, and to beleve, howbeit I did not understand. To whom, when I had gentilly said, "Can any reasonable man will me to beleve thinges directly fighting against God's veritie and plaine Word reveled?" "Tusch," said he, "for your written Word, we have as good and as sure a word and veritie that teacheth us this doctrine, as ye have for you and your opinion." And then I did more sharpely answere, saying, "Ye deserve the death as a blasphemous person and denier of God, if ye preferre any word to that which the Holy Ghost hath uttered in his plaine Scriptures." At which wordes he toke pepper in [the] nose, and snatching his boke furth of my hand, departed after he had thus spoken: "I will goo to the end of the world; but I will have my booke confirmed and subscribed with better learned men then you be." In me, I confesse, there was greate negligence, that neither did reteine his boke, neither yet did present him to the Magistrate.

But yet this argument I have, that your faction is not altogether cleane from the heresie of the Manichies. I could name and point forth others who labour in the same disease; but so long as their venom doth remaine secrete within themselves, I am purposed to spare them. But now that you accuse us to be unmercifull, proud, ambitious, and envious children, bloody persecuters of others for their conscience' sake, evil speakers, impatient, contentious, and seditious children; that we speake one thing with our mouthes, and think another in our heartes. And that ye extolle yourselves, that ye are mercifull, humble,

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and loving children, abhorring from blood, persecuting no man, good speakers, pacient, and detesting all contention. That you be all waies moved with good thoghtes and godly revelations, for such grace receave you plenteously of your Father. To the which I briefely answere, that because we have a just judge, who shall revele the secretes of all heartes, we will rather susteine to be of you unjustly accused, then become proud braggers of our owne justice, as you be, which sinne is so odious in God's presence, that he hath never suffered it unpunished even before men. Fortie yeares and more hath the Evangill of Christ Jesus bene preached in Germanie, in Helvetia, and now of latter yeares in Geneva; and so long hath this doctrine bene taught of some, and hath bene beleved of many. But what crueltie, what murther, or what sedition, can justly he laid to the charge of those that most constantly have taught and mainteined the same, let the world convict them! And how farre their life abhorreth from pride, ambition, and filthines, hath God witnessed, and to this daye doth witnes, howsoever Sathan doth blinde your eyes.

But soone after that God had sowen his good seede, began the Devill to sowe the cockell and darnell, I meane the pestilent secte of Anabaptistes, whose frutes did sodeinly appere, to the great slander of Christes Evangill, and to the grief of many godly heartes. Bragge what ye list of your justice, of your mercie, of your godly revelations, and other such, ye are the brethren, mainteiners, and children of those in whom the contrarie was plainely found; your doctrine and theirs are both one, and therfore of you can we looke for none other frute (unless that God restrein your furie) then your fathers have once produced before you. And that the readers shall not be ignorant what it was, I have added this Historie, written by that most faithful and notable witnes[1] of thinges

[1] Knox has here introduced two long extracts, very closely translated from Sleidan's original work. The first is from Book v. (fol. 65–69), and extends from this place to page 432.

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done in maters of religion, sithence the beginning of the empire of Charles the Fifte untill the yere of 1556;[1] which Historie, I adde, (as God I take to record,) of no private malice which I beare against any persone, but onely that the worlde may see what was your originall, how unjustly ye accuse us of such crimes as impudently you lay to our charge, and how justly all men ought to feare that confusion which ye intend, if God be times overthrow not your enterprises. The historie and your originall is this.

"There is a towne named Alstet, in the borders of Turingia, under the dominion of the Duke of Saxon Elector, to the which towne came one Thomas Muncer; who began first to teach, not onely against the Pope, but also against Luther, affirming both their doctrines to be corrupted and unpure; that the Pope bound mennes consciences with too streit lawes and bandes: againe, that Luther lowsed those bandes, but yet sinned on the contrarie parte, in giving too much libertie, and in preaching those thinges that were not of the Spirite. He taught, also, that it was lawfull to despise the Pope's decrees, because they were of no force to bring us to salvation, which to atteine unto (said he) most chiefly that we should avoyde all manifest iniquitie, as murther, adulterie, and blaspheming of the name of God; that the bodie should be chastised, and broght low with fasting and simple clothing; that men ought to fashion their countenance to looke sadly and gravely; that they should speak but seldom; and that they ought to norish their beardes. These thinges, and such like, he called the crosse, the mortification of the flesh, and discipline. After they are thus furnished and

Historia Sleidani, libro 6.

The hypocrisie of the Anabaptistes.

[1] John Sleidan, a learned German historian, was born near Cologne, in 1506. His History, under the title of Commentaries, was originally published at Strassburg, in the year 1555. "Ioan. Sleidani, de Statu Religionis et Reipublicae, Carolo Quinto, Caesare, Commentarii.—Argentorati, M.D.LV." Folio. It was translated into various languages. An English version is entitled, "A famouse Cronicle of our time, called Sleidanes Commentaries, &c. Translated by Ihon Daus. Imprinted at London, by Jhon Daye, 1560," folio. A later translation, with a Continuation by Edmund Bohun, is called, "A General History of the Reformation." London, 1689, folio.

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prepared (said he), they ought to haunt solitarie places, out of mennes compagnie, and often to thinke of God, what maner a one he is, whether he have any care of us or no: If Christ suffered for us: If our religion were not to be preferred to the Turkes religion: And that we should aske a signe of God to assure us that he taketh care for us, and that we stand in the trew religion. If he shew not some signe immediatly, that we should nevertheless go forward, praying instantly, yea, and vehemently quarreling with God, as if he did us not right; that seing it is his will, as the Scripture teacheth us, to give to those that aske, he doth injurie in not giving a signe to him that desireth the true knowledge of him. This kinde of chiding and anger, he said, to be verie acceptable unto God, because that by it he might perceave the fervent inclination of our mindes; and that he wold undoubtedly (if in this maner we did solicite him) declare himself by some manifest signe, that he wold quench the thrist of our mindes, and deale with us as he did in times past with our fathers. This also he taught, that God revealed his will by dreames, and that he laid in them the foundation of his purpose. And if it chanced that any man's dreame might be interpreted, him he highly extolled openly before the assemblie. And when by this meanes he had gotten many on his side, by little and little, he came to the same, which he went about a little before; and in the forenamed towne he began to regester their names, which (being of his confideracie) were sworne to ayde him in slaying the wicked Princes and Magistrates, and in placing new in their rowmes. For he said that he had receaved that commandement of God, to take them away and to constitute new. So long as he spake but of dreames, and such other lyke thinges, Friderike Duke of Saxon did beare with him, especially because Luther, by letters, required him so to do; but when he began to preach sediciously, he was banished; who (after he had lurked in corners certen monethes) came to Noriberge; and being also thrust from thence, a litle after he came to Milhusium, a towne

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of Turingia. For when he was at Alstet, he had entised to him some of the citizens, by whose helpe he obteined the office of teaching. And because the magistrates lyked him not, he raised a tumult amongest the people, wherby new magistrates were created. This was the beginning of trouble. After these thinges, the townesmen cast out the monkes and invaded their houses, wherof the chiefest and richest fell to Muncer's lotte, who now played both the preacher and the magistrate. For judgement (said he) should be given by the revelation of God, and of the Scripture; and of all other thinges he gave sentence as it pleased him; for whatsoever he said it semed to them most holy. That their goodes should be in common, he said, was most agreable to humanitie. That all ought to be equall in dignitie, all men should be free, and that all their goodes should be used indifferently, as well of one as of another. Wherby the common people began to leave of labor, and to be ydle, and what thing soever any lacked, that they toke by violence from other that abounded. These maners he used for a space; and when the common people and husband men were in armour through Suevia and Franconia, to the number of fortie thousand, and had destroied the greatest part of their nobilitie, and had pulled downe and burned many castels and towres, then putte he to his hand, also thinking that the most convenient time to bring his purpose to passe. And making inginnes of warre in the Gray Friers' Church, the greater part of the people he broght furth of the cuntrie, in hope of a pray and of more welth. He had a companion of mervelous audacitie, who was of all his counsell, whose name was Phifer. This man attributed much to dreames and visions of the night; and amongest other thinges, he chanced to boast that he saw in his slepe, in a certen stable, a mervelous great multitude of mice, and that he did drive them all away. By which dreame he understode that God commanded him to take his armour, and go furth with an armie to destroy all the nobilitie. But Muncer, althogh he preached vehemently to the people, yet was he

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somewhat colder; neither listed he to adventure the prosperous estate that he was in alredy before all they that were about him were in armour. And to bring the mater more easilie to passe, he sent leters to the workemen that digged for metalles in the countrie of Mansfeld, earnestly admonishing them to fall upon the princes, without doubting of the matter, for it should come to passe that they which were in a readines in Franconia shall come nearer to Turingia. In the meane time, Phifer, that loved not to linger long in any mater, went out with his men and destroied the countrie of Isfeld adjacent unto them; he spoiled the castels and temples, destroyed many of the nobles, and toke certen of them prisoners, whom he bound in chaines. After he returned home with a greate praye, whose prosperous successe encouraged greatly the heartes of the common people, especially because the cuntries also about them were up, and had invaded the cuntrie of Mansfeld. So Muncer (thinoking now that all men's heartes had failed them on every side) came with three hundred men to Mulhusium, and joined himself to the Francusians. At that same time died Friderike Duke of Saxon without issue (for he lived a sole life), whose successor was Jhon, his brother-germane. While these thinges were in doing, Albert, the Countie of Mansfeld, gathered (with all expedition) a company of horsemen, and violently comming upon them, he slew three hundred, wherwith they being feared, durst procede no further, but fled to Francusium, where they taried waiting for a greater armie, wherby onely their assaute was deferred. In the time of this delay, the Princes that were there about, gathered horsemen to the number of a fiftene hundred, but no greate multitude of footemen. These were the Princes of Saxon, John Elector, George, his cousin-germane, Philippe Lantgrave of Hesse, and Henri Duke of Brunswicke. The bowres[1] (that is, husband men) remained upon a hill not farre from Francusium, who had gathered their cartes, and sette them so nigh together to fence them withall, that with

[1] In edit. 1591, "boores;" the original is "rusticani."

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much difficultie could they be come unto. But they were neither well furnished with harnes, neither yet with ordinance, and they were all, for the most part, unexpert in the feates of warre, wherwith the Princes were so moved to compassion, that they sent messingers to exhort them to deliver the authors of the sedition, to lay awaye their weapons, and to depart home without hurte.

Muncer's fals and craftie Oration.

"But Muncer, considering his owne danger, came furth into the assemblie, and, with grave countenance, said, 'Ye brethern and felow-souldiours do see tyrannes not farre from you, who, althogh they have conspired against us to take away our lives, yet are they of so small a courage, that they dare entreprise no thing against us. They offer foolish and fond conditions to the intent to spoile you of your armour. And now, it is manifest to you all that I began this dede, but not of any private authoritie of my own, (neither did I ever go about such a thing,) but by the commandement of God; which thing being so, it becometh both me and you to obey, and not once to move out of this place wherin God himself hath sette us; who in times past commanded Abraham to offer his sonne, whose precept without resistance Abraham obeied, albeit he was ignorant what should come of it. And therfor did God both preserve his sonne, and also highly rewarded his faith. In like maner ought we (which are in the same state) to persevere, committing the issue unto God; for, without doubt, all thinges shalbe even as we would have it. Ye yourselves shall behold the manifest helpe of God, and whosoever is our ennemie, him shall we suppresse on every side. Neither is it in one place of the Scripture onely, where God promiseth succour to the afflicted, and to destroye the wicked. This promise most assuredly apperteineth unto us, for we are poore and in miserie; and because we desire to reteine and publish the knowledge of God, there is no doubte but that we shall overcome and be conquerors. On the other side, lette us consider the condition of our ennemies. I confesse they are called Princes, but in dede

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they be tyrannes; neither have they any care of you at all, but devoure all menes goodes, and spend them most wickedly. In that people which sometimes God chose peculiarly unto himself, he ordeined that Kinges should not spend any time in waste; yea, he commanded that they should loke diligently in the Boke of the lawes which he had given them. But what do our tyrannes, or how are they occupied? They think the commonwelth is no part of their charge; they know nothing of poore men's causes; they care not for justice; they suffer the wayes to be besette with theves; they punish not robbers, neither any other vice; they helpe not the widdow, neither yet the fatherles; they loke not to the good education of youth. As for the honoring of God's name, they do not onely themselves neglect it, but also they hinder it. Thus onely they applie to draw all men's goodes to themselves; and therfore do they every day devise new wayes to gette money by extortion. Neither sette they their mindes upon defending or mainteining of peace, but that (being enriched above measure) they may abound in all kinde of riotte and pride. It is too manifest how great tumultes and warres they raise for very light and foolish causes, whereby all that remaineth to the poore people is lost and destroied. Behold, these are the excellent vertues and policies of your noble Princes, wherin they exercise themselves. Therfor let none think that God will suffer those thinges any longer, but rather persuade himself assuredly, that as God did once destroye the Cananites, so will he now also these. For thogh all these thinges, which I have recited before, were tollerable, think you that they shall escape unpunished for defending and mainteining that most execrable impietie of the Popish preachers? Who is ignorant how greate iniquitie is in the buying and selling of Masses? I will say nothing of the rest. Surely as Christ drave out the buyers and sellers out of the church, so shall he now also roote out the priestes with their patrones and companions. Be strong therfor, and to gratifie God, slay all this unprofitable multitude. To make

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peace with them, I can see no way honest, safe, or sure inough; for they will neither leave of their purpose, neither restore us to libertie, neither permitte the true worshipping of God; and it were better for us to die then to allowe their iniquitie, and to suffer ourselves to be spoiled of the doctrine of the Gospell. I promise you assuredly that God shall prosper us, and that the victorie shalbe ours. For he himself promised me to my face: even he, I say, that can not deceave nor lie, commanded me to beginne this worke on this maner, by punishing the Magistrates; and indede, the power of God herein appereth most excellent, when a greate multitude of ennemies is slayne by a small hand.[1] To lette many other thinges passe, ye know what Gedeon broght to passe with a few; what Jonathas did, accompanied with one poore servant onely; what David did when he fought alone against that monster Golias, of huge stature, who for his height was even terrible to loke on. There is no doubte but this day, in like maner, shalbe notable, and had in remembrance of all posterities for the like spectacle. For althogh we seeme not to be well fournished with weapons, nor fensed as it apperteineth, yet shall we have the victorie. And this workemanship of heaven and earth shall rather be changed then that we shalbe forsaken of God. For so in time past was the nature of the sea changed, that the Israelites might escape danger when of Pharao they were pursewed. Let not the judgement of your own reason move you, neither let any apperance or shadow of danger trouble you, but valiantly invade the wicked and ungodly ennemie; never let their enginnes of warre make you afraid, for I will receive in the lappe of my garment all the gunstones. Behold, see you not how mercifull God is unto us? Look up, I besech you, and marke well the signe and testimonie of his perpetuall love toward us? Lift up your eyes, and see me the bowe of heaven, by the which image, shewed us from above, God signifieth to us most manifestly, that he will assist us in this battell: for as much as we have

[1] In the orig., "parva manu."

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the same bow painted in our enseigne, and he sheweth also by the very same death and destruction to our tyrannes. Therfore fall upon your ennemies with a lustie courage, having an assured hope that God will helpe you. For God will not that ye should make peace with the wicked adversaries.'

"When he had made an end of exhorting his souldiours, who nevertheless (for the most part) trembled for the greatnes of the present danger; but all thinges were done in a hurley burley, without any certen rule or order. Moreover, there were some of a desperate audacitie, readie to put to their handes to every mischevous acte; these, of their owne nature enclining to worke meschief, were then more sette on fire by his oration; but chiefly they were moved by the rainebow which stode in the element (as it is said before), and that toke they for a most sure signe of victorie. And this also helped them, that they were a great number, about eight thousand men, and that the place was fitte for to defend them. So these men that were so boldened, with a lowde voice admonished all men to take their weapons, and to go furth against the ennemie with a good courage: And they had also a song, wherein they asked the assistance of God's Holy Spirite.

"But before this, a certen yong man, of noble birth, was sent unto them, whom Muncer (contrary to the law of armes, and to the custom of any nation) slew; wherwith the Princes were so provoked, that they blew their trompettes to batell, and sette their men in arraye. At that time there was there Philippe, Prince of Hesse, who althogh he was the yongest of all, yet rode he to and fro, exhorting the souldiours to be strong. Which exhortation being ended, they invaded their enemies, beginning first to shote of their ordinance. And then the miserable men (as all amased, or besides themselves), neither defended themselves, nor yet fled to save their lives, but song still that song to the Holy Ghost to helpe them. And the most part of them put such confidence in Muncer's faire promises, that they looked for helpe from heaven. When they

The Anabaptistes greate mercie.

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had shot of their ordinance, and began to assaute their holdes, and that many of them were on every side slayne, then were they put to flight, and went to Francusium, but some of them went to the other side of the hill, where they kept out for a while a few horsemen, and slew one or two of them. But when they were all, for the most part, fledde, the horsemen (scattered and dispersed) wandred to and fro, without order, so that whither so ever boures fled they were pursewed. But some of their men (as I said before) being slaine, the residue, all kindled with fury and desire of revenge, were more violent, and were slayn to the number of 5000. Streight waye Francusium was taken by batell, and 300 in it which were beheaded.

Muncer fled into the towne, and hid himself in a house not farre from the gate; into the which it happened that a certen gentilman entered, whose servant going up into the upper parte of the house, of purpose to viewe the dwelling, he found a certaine man lying upon a bedde, of whom he demanded what he was, and whether he were one of the rebelles which fled out of the tumult. That he denied, saying, 'That even then he was sicke of an agew.' It happened that besides the bedde there laye a purse, which the other snatched up, hoping to gette some pray in it. After he had opened it, he found therein a letter, wherin Albert Mansfeld admonished Muncer to leave of his enterprise, and not to stirre the people to sedition. When he had redde these letters, he asked if they were written to him; but when he denied it, he forced him so, that he confessed himself to be Muncer, and intreated him. Then (being taken) he was broght to George the Duke of Saxon, and to the Lantgrave; who asked him, why he had so deceived poore men. He answered, 'That he had done nothing but his dutie; and that the Magistrates who wold not abide the doctrine of the Gospel, ought on that maner to be handeled.' But after that by the Princes he was put to silence, he cried out for very anguish. Then said George the Duke of Saxon unto him: 'Now are thou vexed, Muncer; but thinke also in thyself of

Here is the trewth of Anabaptistes.

How God reveleth things.

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the death of those miserable men which (being wickedly deceaved by this thy craft) have this day perished.' Then he (with greate laughter) answered, 'So wold they.' After he was broght to Helderung, a towne of Mansfeld, where he was streitly examined what he purposed to do, and who were of his conspiracie, he told them all.

"Then came the Princes of Mulhusium to Helderung, and beheaded some of the rebelles, among whome Phipher (of whom I spake before) was one. Thither also shortly after was Muncer broght, who in those troubles was excedingly vexed and troubled in himself. Neither was he able to render an accompt of his faith, as the maner was then. So that (to help him with) Henry, Duke of Brunswick, said it before him. And when he was at the point to die, he acknowledged his fault and error, and that he confessed it openly. And being compassed about with souldiours, he exhorted the Princes to have more pitie on poore men, and so they should not nede to feare the like danger after. He exhorted them also to read diligently the bokes of the Kinges in the Scriptures. When he had spoken these thinges, he was striken with a swerd; and, for an example, his head was fastened upon a speare, and sett up in the field."

The comfort of the Anabaptistes in adversitie.

"And thus[1] did he [Muncer] end and suffer for his offence, which (as said is) he did openly confesse. But yet, alas! his error and pestilent doctrine did not end. For from him came forth a kinde of men, which for their doing and doctrine are called Anabaptistes, for they forbid the baptising of children, and are themselves rebaptised; and so affirme they, that all others ought to be; and they take awaye all the vertue of the first baptisme. They shew forth a certen kinde of holines. They teach that it is not lawfull for Christen men to go to law together; not to requier or take an othe, althogh by the Magistrate it were required; not to have any thing in proper, but all thinges to be common unto all: these be their first princi-

Historia Sleidani libro decimo.

The Doctrine of Anabaptistes.

[1] What follows is the second extract referred to in the foot-note to page 422, as taken from Sleidan's History, (Lib. x. fol. 148–157.)

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ples. But furthermore, they adde yet much more grevous errors, as afterward I shall declare. And when they encreased through all Germanie, both farre and wide, Luther and many other learned men, earnestly withstode them; the Magistrates also did so punish them, that they could hardely encrease to any greater number. At the last, in the chief towne of Westphalie, named Monasterium, or Monstere,[1] (which is well fensed,) they placed themselves; which happened after this maner:[2] There is not farre from the towne of Monster a temple of Sainct Maurice, in the which one named Bernard Rotman did preach the Gospell, in the yeare of our salvation 1532, to a greate audience of the citizens. And when they were purposed to bring him into the towne, the Prelates (purposing to lette their devise) gave him a little somme of money, that he might go exercise himself in some other place; and so he did. But after he had bene in divers places, where he thoght to do some good and profite his spirite, he returned after certen monethes. But they (to whom his returne was grevous) determined to lette his preaching; but it was in vaine, the people bare him such favour.

"Shortly after, it came to passe that certeine of the chief citizens receavéd him into the towne; and when the church dores were shutte against him, they made him a pulpit in the church porch. And because the number of the citizens and other hearers encreased daily, they desired of the Papistes that one of the temples might be opened unto him, which, if they wold not grant, they wold make a way in by violence. Not long after (by the counsell of the chiefest of the people) he sent letters to the countrie of Hesse, which was joyning by, and under the governement of the Lantgrave, desiring that certeine good

[1] The town of Munster, the capital of Westphalia. John of Leyden's house is still shown in the market-place; and the three iron cages in which he and his two companions were fixed to be tortured, (see *infra*, p. 460,) are still suspended on the tower of St Lambert's church.

[2] An occasional explanatory sentence in the original, interrupting the narrative, is omitted in Knox's translation.

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and learned men might be sent unto him, which might with him preache the Gospell. And when there were sixe of them, whereof two were sent from Marpurge, they devised among themselves how they might first overcome the clergie, by the which meanes the Gospell might with more frute be taught. And to bring this to passe, this waye was thoght most convenient: They wrote out the errors of the Papistes in thirtie articles, and delivered them to the Counsell, offering themselves to suffer any kind of punishment, if they were not able to prove, by the Holy Scriptures, that they were all contrarie to the Word of God. The Magistrates sent for the Papistes to come before them, and they shewed unto them those chief pointes of their errors. And when continually they alledged for themselves their doctrine to be pure and agreable to the Word of God, and the preachers denied the same, and that they wold prove under the paine of losing their heades; it was asked of them, Whether that they wold, by the Word of God, confute those articles that were put forth against them? When after this maner it was asked of them, they seing also that the rulers were earnest in the mater, in few wordes they answered: 'That they had nothing to defend themselves withall; and wheras untill that time they had said that their ordinances and maners were good and lawfull, they confessed their so saying to be but by opinion and ignorance.' Then the Senate seing them to be convict of false doctrine and errors, having nothing to alledge for themselves, and confessing their naughtiness, they commanded them that from thenceforward they should absteine from the office of teaching, and that they should give place in all their temples to those new teachers which had disclosed their trumperie and deceate. Afterward, by the consent of the Senate and the people, there was appointed to every one of the preachers a severall temple to preache in. The Papistes were greved therwith, but specially the Canons of the cathedrall church, which, for the most part, were gentilemen borne; they, when they saw that they could

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not remedy the mater, they departed in a fume, and went to the Bishop of that citie; and after that they had counseled with him, they determined to stoppe all the waies and passages, that there should no victualles be carted to the towne. Shortly after they had thus stopped the wayes, the Bishope with the Canons afore named came to Telget, to counsell more fully of the mater, for that was a litle towne but a mile from the citie. From thence they sent a messinger with letters to the Counsell, in these wordes: 'That they should give over their enterprise, and restore all thinges to their former state; if not, that they wold take them from thencefurth as ennemies.' The Bishop was a countie, and called Francis Valdock;[1] and his predecessor was named Friderick, brother to the Archbishop of Collen.[2] This Bishop (either because he could not have his health in those places, or that he smelled somewhat in the mater) departed thence a little before of his owne accord; and being content with a private life, he went into his owne countrey. The people of Monstere counseling upon this mater, kept the messinger. And upon Christmas even, in the night, they went forth, to the number of 900, and comming upon them unawares, they toke the towne, and setting kepers at the gates (lest any should escape) they apprehended all. The Bishop (as it happened) was gone from thence the day before. They broght all the captives into the citie, amongest whom were the chief prelates, and divers of the nobilitie. Of these the Magistrates asked what their intent was, and whither they were minded to hinder the preaching of the Gospell any more? They frely answered, that they wold do their diligence that the Gospell might florish. And by the occasion of this answer, there was a paction made betwene them. The copie wherof the Magistrates sent to the Lantgrave, desiring him that he wold assist

[1] "The Byshop was Countie Frauncis Waldeck," Engl. transl. 1560; in Sleidan's original, "Episcopus erat Comes Franciscus Vualdeccus."—*County* was a term used by Shakespeare and other early writers, in place of *Count*, as a title of foreign nobility.

[2] "Collen," or Cologne; in German, Köln.

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them in the maintenance of the Gospell and their common-welth. Then sent he unto them certen of his servantes; through whose comming unto them the peace was made; and being reconciled, and the grief trodden under foote, they lived in peace togethers: that the Gospell might be preached in sixe churches, and that the impieties and superstitions which were in religion might be taken awaye; that in the cathedrall church nothing should be changed, and that the citizens should not thinke that to apperteine any thing at all unto them. This forme of peace, in writing, was signed by the Lantgrave, by the Bishop and his adherents, with the noblemen, and all the people, the 14. of Februarie, the year of our salvation 1533.

"After this maner thinges being appeased, there came unto Monstere a botcher of garmentes,[1] named John Leiden, borne in Holland, which was a vehement Anabaptist. This man, after he was entered into familiaritie with the preachers, he privily asked of them, 'Whether they thoght that it were mete to baptise children or not?' And when they answered, 'Yea;' he, as one utterly of the contrary judgement, began to laugh, and dispise their judgement. Which thing when Bernard Rotman, of whom we spake before, perceived, he exhorted the people in his preaching to call upon God, that he wold give them grace to stand and continew in the trueth, and that he wolde kepe them from being corrupt with heresies, and chiefly from the opinion of the Anabaptistes, which now privily do creepe in among them, and gather themselves together. 'For (said he) if their opinion gette the upper hand, the state, not onely of the common-welth, but also of religion, wilbe very miserable and poore.' At the same time came to the towne one Herman Stapred, which being made companion with Rotman, did publikely invey against the baptisme of infantes. He was scholar unto one Henry of Rolle, who a little

How Anabaptistes crept in.

[1] "A botcher of garments." In the Engl. transl. 1560, "a certen Cobler." The original has, "sarcinator quispiam;" and the word *botcher* occurs at this time, in English writers, for a mender of old clothes.

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before was put to death at Trajectine[1] for Anabaptistry. And this was, as it were, another steppe forward in this new kinde of doctrine.

"This came to pass that the Anabaptistes taught through all the citie, althogh it were in private houses, and secretely; and none was receaved of them except they that were of their secte. Furthermore, there was none that made themselves knowen to be the authors of this opinion, nor they did not teach but by night, and when others were at their rest, which time they wroght their mysteries. But the thing being known, and divers of the citizens being greved at it, saying, 'That it was a great shame that such new doctrine should be sowen in secret, and by night;' it came to passe that, by the commandement of the rulers, the captaines of them were commanded to avoyde[2] the citie; which going out at one gate, they came in againe at another, saying, 'That they had a commandement from God, that they should remaine there and applie their maters.' This thing moved the rulers not a little, and caused no small wonder in the towne. Therfor, for the avoiding of greater tumult and danger, the Magistrates gave in commandement, as well to the Anabaptistes as to the preachers of the Gospell, that they should appere before them in the counsell house, with certen other lerned men. Then Rotman bewrayed his judgement, which untill that time he had concealed, and condemned the baptisme of infantes as a thing wicked and abominable. But one named Herman Bushe chiefly, so defended the contrarie parte, that the Anabaptistes were commanded to departe out of the citie, out of hand. And when they did alledge for themselves that they should not quietly passe through the Bishoppes land, the Senate obteined for them a safe conduite, and gave them wherwithall to bear their charges. But they having long before determined not to depart from thence to any other place, (secretly returning to their companions,) kept themselves closely for a time. The Magistrates, in the meane

[1] Trajectum ad Rhenum, or Utrecht. [2] To depart.

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season, before that they came fortne of their corners againe, caused all the churche dores to be shut, one onely excepted. For it was to be feared lest that the Anabaptistes (who daily increased, accompanied with their teachers) should drive the preachers of the Gospell out of their temples.

"After this, in the moneth of November, the Lantgrave, at the request of the rulers of the citie, sent two preachers unto them, Theoderik Fabritius and John Melsinger; but Melsinger seing the trouble, and fearing the danger, returned home againe. The other with great diligence exhorted the citizens that they should beware of the doctrine of the Anabaptistes. In this wise he ceased not to do his indevour, untill that the Anabaptistes, getting the upper hand, did drive the other out of the citie, as afterward shalbe declared. And to make all sure, he wrote in a brief somme the effect of the trew doctrine and ecclesiasticall administration, the Counsell and people appointing the same. Then by the counsel of the Magistrates, one Peter Wirtam[1] began again to preach; but he had not preached long ere the Anabaptistes, stirred up by Rotman, drove him away; who being more fierce then before, provoked Fabritius and others to disputation, the Senate agreing thereunto, but under this condition, that the disputation shoulde be grounded upon the Word of God, and other writings agreable unto the same, in the presence of some godly learned men, which should be as it were arbitrers, who hearing and trying the sentences and argumentes indifferently on bothe sides, might give judgement: and looke what judgement they should give, that it should be agreed unto of all; by which meanes discorde being taken away, the peace of the Church might be restored. This condition Rotman and his companions did refuse. When they craftely avoyded to be bewrayed, they beganne openly to be contemned of the common people.

"But to wipe awaye this foule blotte, they finde out another

[1] In the Engl. transl. 1560, "one Peter Wirtemie;" in Sleidan's original, "Petrus Vuirtemius."

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way much more compendious. One of them (as if he were inspired with the Holy Ghost) ranne through the stretes of the citie, crieing, 'Repent you, and be baptised againe, or els the wrath of God shall consume you.' By this meanes there was a common tumult, and as many as were rebaptised cried after the same maner as did the first. Many fearing the wrath of God, which they so threatened to fall upon them, (deceaved of verie simplicitie, which otherwise were good men,) obeied them; and others did the same for saving of their goods. For after that the Anabaptistes had gotten the upper hand of their adversaries, they dispossessed them of their goodes. This was about the end of December, and now came they againe furth of their secret corners, of which we spake before. And being gathered together in the market place, they made a great shout, commanding all that were not rebaptised to be slaine, as Paganes and wicked persones. After this, they toke the artilerie and munition of the citie, and also the towne house, not without doing violence unto many. The others on the other part, for saving of them and theirs from injuries, got themselves unto another certen place of the citie, that ever was well fensed, and toke manie of the Anabaptistes. This conflict against the Anabaptistes, which enjoyed the market place, and had fortified it round about, continued so long, while pledges being delivered on both parties, they came to a composition, wherin was agreed, That everie one should holde his religion to himselfe as hym lyked, and return to his house in peace.

This was a wicked paction which God revenged.

"In the meane season, Rotman and Bernard Knipperdoling, which was the chiefe author of this faction, althogh they semed to have allowed this composition, yet notwithstanding they prively sent letters to villages about, willing all those that were of their secte, that, leaving their goods behind them, they should with all spede repaire to the citie to them, promising that whatsoever they should lose should be restored unto them tenfold againe. Many, entised through these greate and plentifull

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promises, came unto Monstere, both men and wemen, with an assured hope to obteine no small benefite, but chiefly they of small substance, which were not able to kepe their houses. The citizens, and chiefly those that were of some reputation, when they saw that the citie beganne to be filled with strangers, they withdrew themselves as well as they could, leaving behind them the Anabaptistes with the mingled people. This was in Februarie, about Shroftide,[1] 1534. Thus one partie growing weake by their departing, the Anabaptistes chose new Magistrates, such as were of their owne opinion. They made counselers also, among whome was Knipperdoling. Not long after, they invaded the temple of Sainct Maurice, in the suburbes, and they burnt it, with all the houses about it; they spoiled all the temples about it also, and defaced the great church within. This done, they began to runne on heapes about the citie, in the stretes, crying, first, 'Repent;' and immediately after they cryed, 'Hie you hence, ye wicked persones, except ye list to adventure your lives.' At the same time, they ranne about the citie in harness,[2] and chased out of the citie all such as were not of their secte, without any regard of age or kinde; after such a sorte, that in this turmoil and hastie flight many women were delivered before their time; and immediatly they toke the goods of those whome they had chased out. And althogh that this chanced the day before the Bishope laide siege to the citie, yet notwithstanding, when certaine of the companie of those that fled fell into the handes of the Bishop, they were taken as ennemies; of which companie some were put to death; among whome were taken one or two preachers of the Gospell. And when Peter Wirtam, of whome we spake before, was in danger of his life, he was saved through the sute of the Lantgrave. Now, the residue of the townes men moved thereby, which were good men, beholding present dan-

[1] "About Shroftide," in the original, "fuit hoc sub bacchanalia," in reference to the custom of devoting Shrovetide, or the day before Lent, to feastings, sports, and processions.

[2] In armour.

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ger to fall upon them, thogh they wold forsake the citie, full sore against their willes (and as it were constrained) they taried still.

"At that tyme their chief Prophet (for that name they usurped), named John Mathew, commanded that every one which had any gold, silver, or movable goods, they should bring it forthe, to be in common, under paine of heading. And to this use there was a publike house ordeined. The people was greatly astonished with this sharpe commandement, yet notwithstanding they obeied it. And it was not best for anie to use deceat in this thing, or to kepe any part backe, for they had two prophesying maidens, which declared if any deceat was used. And they were not onely content thus to do with their owne goods, but also they used the goods of others whome they had driven out after the like maner. After this the same Prophet gave in commandement, that none should have or kepe to himself any boke, saving the Bible, and that all other should be broght forthe to be rased and destroyed. This commandement, he said, was given him from above: upon this a great nomber of bokes were broght forth, and burned.

"It chanced in that time that a handye craftes man, named Hubart Turteline,[1] had spoken in mockage against those that called themselves Prophetes. This being knowen, they called the multitude together, and commanded them to come in harnes, and streight way they accused the man, and condemned him to death. With this the people was grevously moved and striken with feare. The chief Prophet (afore named) toke the poore man, which being downe on the grounde, he stroke him with a speare, without giving him his deathes wounde, althogh he ranne upon him with a greate violence. Then he commanded him to be caried into another place, and taking a yong man's halfe hake[2] that stode by him, he shotte him

[1] In the orig., "Hubertus Trutelingus;" the Engl. translation 1560 has, "Hubert Trutelyne, a smyth."

[2] "A halfe-hake:" the orig. has, "tum arrepta . . . machina;" the old transl., "then caught he a boore speare."

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through, lying on the ground. And because that yet he died not out of hand, he said, 'That it was shewed to him from heaven that the time of his death was not yet come, and that God wold pardon him of his offense;' but the poore man within few days after dyed. When the Prophet heard of his death, he toke a long speare, and ran with it about the citie, crying, 'That God the Father had commanded him to drive the enemie out of the citie.' And when he came neare unto the campe, a certeine soldiour slew him. And notwithstanding that this was the seconde time of bewraying of their falshode, yet the residue of his fellow prophetes had so bewitched the people, and they so set out the mater unto them, that the common people toke the mater very heavily, and said, 'That surely some greate plague should fall upon them for the taking away of so notable a man.' But the next prophete after him, named John Leyden, willed them all to be of a good courage, 'For (said he) it was long before shewed me that he shoulde dye after that maner, and that I should take his wife in mariage.' Two dayes before Easter, they ranne into the temples, and rang all the bells at once. Within few dayes after, Knipperdoling prophesied that those which were set aloft should be broght downe, and the other should be exalted from a vile and base estate. After that, he commanded that all the temples should be cast downe, affirming with muche gravitie that commandement to have come from God. Immediately the thing was obeied, and that commandement celestial (as he termed it) with all diligence put in execution. About the same time, the fore named John Leiden toke the sworde that served for the heading of the offenders, and gave it to Knipperdoling, and made him hangman; 'For so (said he) it was determined of God, that he which was one of the chiefe rulers before, and of the counsel, should now be in the lowest place, and be made hangman.' Knipperdoling was nothing offended with the mater, but toke the office thankfully upon him.

"Now, when the Bishoppe had certaine monethes borne all

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the charge of the siege himselfe alone, Hermannus the Archbishop of Collen, and John Duke of Cleve, sent him for ayde money and gunnes, with a certeine companie of horsemen and footemen. The Archbishop of Collen himselfe came also to the campe, to sit in counsel with them; and not long after, the citie was besieged in sondrie places. And when there was no hope to winne it by force, they made seven rampers[1] about the citie, to kepe it from victuales, furnishing them with footemen and horsemen, which should remaine there all winter. The Bishop of Monstere (for the maintenance of the siege and warre against the towne) required ayde of the Princes about the Rhine, as the next neighbours, and to whome the mater also did belong; for which cause they gathered themselves together at a citie called Confluence,[2] the 13th of December 1534.

"After this unprofitable beseging of the citie, John Leiden fell into a slepe, and dreamed the space of three daies; and when he awaked, he spake never a worde, but onely required paper to be brought unto him, in which he wrote twelve mennes names, among whome were certeine of noble birth, which twelve should rule as chiefe heades, as it was among the Israelites: this, he said, was the will of the heavenlie Father. When as by these twelve there was a way made for him to be King, he put forthe certeine articles unto the Preachers, and willed them that, if they could, they should confute them by God's Worde, or else he wolde publish them unto the multitude, and so of them they shoulde be alowed and established. The somme of them was this: That a man was not bounde to one wife onely, and it was lawful for any man to have as many wives as he wolde. But when the Preachers withstode this sentence, he called them into the counsell house, and with them the twelve rulers; and when they were all come thither, he put of his cloke, and

A sufficient assurance for Anabaptistes.

[1] In the Engl. translation 1560, "seven bulwarkes or fortes."

[2] "A citie called Confluence," in the Latin original "Confluentia," now best known as Coblentz, on the Rhine. From the influx of the river Moselle into the Rhine at this place, it received from the Romans the name "Confluentes."

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threw it on the ground, and with it the New Testament. By those (as it were) signes, he testified and sware that that article which he had put forthe was reveled to him from heaven, and therfore, with terrible wordes, he threatened them, as that God wold not be merciful unto them unlesse they wold allow them. At the length they agreed, and the preachers, for thre daies togethers, preached onely of matrimonie. Streight waye John Leiden maried three wives, whereof one was she of whome we spake before, the wife of the greate Prophete John Mathew. With this example others did follow, so that it was counted laudable to marie often. But divers of the citizens that liked not their doings, (a signe being given through the citie,) they called all the lovers of the Gospel into the market place: Then toke they the Prophet and Knipperdoling, with all the preachers. Which thing when the common people heard of, they armed themselves, and reskewed those that were taken, killing, with great torment, to the number of fiftie persones; for they tied them to trees and postes, and so shot them through. For the greate Prophet cried, 'That all those that wold do acceptable service to God, should throw the first dart;' others were killed after another maner.

"The 24th of June, there arose a new Prophet, which by his occupation was a goldsmith. This Prophet called the people into the market place, and there he said unto them, 'That it was the commandement and will of the heavenly Father, that John Leiden should be the Emperour of the whole earth, and that he going forthe with a mighty armie, should kill all the Princes and Kinges of the earth, shewing mercie onely to the common people (that is to saye, all those that love righteousnes), and that he should possess the seate of his father David until the Father should require the kingdom of him. For (said he) the wicked being put downe, the godly shal here reigne in this life.' And when he had published these things openly, by and by John Leiden fell upon his knees, and holding up his handes unto heaven, said, 'It was manie daies ago (my

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brethern) that I did know of this, but I wolde not declare it; and now God hath uttered it unto another, that ye might the better credite it.' This man obteining the kingdome by this craft, immediatly he put out of office the forenamed twelve. And, after the maner of kings, he chose unto him noble men, and commanded that there should be two crownes of fine gold made for him, a scepter, a skabbard, and chaine of golde, with other such lyke ornamentes. Furthermore, he appointed certeine dayes, in the which he wold openly heare all mennes maters that had any thing to put forthe unto him. So often as he came abrode, he was accompanied with his officers and noblemen of his court. Next unto him folowed two yong men on horse backe, and he on the right hand bare a crown and the Bible; the other on the left hand, a drawen sworde. The pompe of his chiefe wife (for he had mo at that time) was after the same maner. In the market place there was an high throne made for him, covered with cloth of gold. The actions and complaintes that were broght before him, for the most part, were of mariages and divorcementes, which then were most frequent, and after such a maner, that not a few which had before lived together a long time, were then divorced.

"It came to passe that on a certeine day as the people were in the market place verie thick, and thronging together to heare, behold, Knipperdoling leaped up, and creping upon the heades of the people with his handes and fete (for they stode so thick), he breathed in the mouth of everie one of them, saying to one after another, 'The Father hath sanctified thee; receave the Holy Spirit.' Another day, he leading the dance before the King, said, 'Thus was I wont to do with my harlot, but now the Father hathe commanded that I should do the same before the King.' But because he did it so often, and never ended, the King being offended went his way. Then hastily he went into the throne, and behaved himselfe like a King. But the King comming in the meanwhile, thrust him out, and caused him to be kept in prisonne three dayes. During the siege,

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they set out a boke, naming it 'The Restitution;' in which boke, besides other things, they say, 'The kingdom of Christe to be suche afore the judgement daye, that the Elect and godly shal reigne; but the wicked, that they should be destroyed everie where.' Also, that it is lawful for the people to put downe the civile powers; and that althogh the Apostles had no commandement to take jurisdiction upon them, yet, notwithstanding, the ministers of the church now ought to take the sworde into their handes, and by violence to set up a new commonwealth. Also, that none ought to be suffered in the commonwealth that is not a true Christian; that none can be saved unlesse he put all his goods in common, without possessing any thing proper unto himselfe; that Luther and the Pope be false prophetes, and of the two, Luther to be the worse; and that the marriage of those which are not illuminated by the true fayth, is polluted and impure, and ought to be taken for adulterie and fornication rather then mariage. Among other men, Melancthon, Justus Jonas, and Urbanus Rhegius, withstode their doctrine, as it appered by their plentiful and excellent writings.

"Within few weakes after, the new Prophete, of whome we spake before, blew a trompet in all the stretes, and commanded that all the people should come into the church yarde of the great temple all harnesed, for the wicked were to be driven forthe of the citie. When they were come thither, they found a supper prepared, and by commandement they sate downe at the table, to the nomber of 4000. After they had supped, those that kept the watch, about 1000, supped also. The King and the Quene, with their household, served. The supper being almost ended, the King gave bread to everie one, saying, 'Take and eate; shew forth the death of the Lord.' And the Quene giving them the cuppe, said, 'Drink, and shew forth the death of the Lord.' This being done, the new Prophet (of whome we spake before) went up into the pulpet, and asked of them all, 'Whether they wold obey the Word of God or no?' Whereunto

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when they had all said, 'Yea;' he said, 'The commandement of the Father is, that there be sent forth twenty-eight preachers, which shal go into the foure quarters of the world, and preach the doctrine that is published in this citie.' And then, by order, he named them, and the places to which they should everie one go; syxe were sent to Osembirge, as many to Warendorf; eyght to Sufat,[1] as many to Cosfeld. The King and the Quene supped afterwarde with the servitours that had served at the table, and with them that were ordeined to go forthe. When supper was in doing, the King rose, saying, 'That he had a busines to do, commanded him of the Father;' and by chance there was a souldioure taken, whome the King accused to be a traitoure, as Judas was, and with his owne hand he stroke of his head. This done, he returned to supper, and tolde merely of his goodly acte that he had done. After supper, those twenty-eight preachers were sent forthe a little before night. And besides for the finding of them, there was given to each of them a piece of gold, with a charge, that wheresoever their doctrine was not receaved, they should leave those pieces, in a witnes against them of their destruction and everlasting damnation, because they had refused peace and a doctrine so wholesome. When they came to the places appointed unto them, they cried in the townes, 'That men should repent, or els they should perish out of hand.' They spred their garmentes upon the ground before the rulers, and cast upon them their pieces of golde which they had receaved, affirming, 'That they were sent of the Father to bring them peace; which if they wold receave, then they willed them to put all their goods in common; and if they refused, then, by this signe and (as it were) a marke, they wold witnes their evil dede and unthankfulnes. For, behold, the time (said they) spoken of before by the Prophetes, in the which God will that righteousnes shall reigne upon the whole earth, is come. And

[1] "Sufat," in Sleidan, "Susatum;" the places here referred to are, Osnaburgh, Warendorf, Soest, and Cosfeld, or Koesfeld.

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when the King shall have fulfilled his office, that justice doeth rule in everie place, then shal it come to passe that Christe shall give up the kingdome to the Father.' They speaking after this maner were taken, and (in the beginning by gentleness, and after with tormentes,) they being asked of their doctrine and life, and of the strength of the citie, answered, 'That they onely had the true doctrine, which they wold mainteine with the perill of their lives. For (said they) from the time of the Apostles, the trueth hathe not bene truely preached, nor any justice used: also, that there were four Prophetes; two just, David, and John Leiden; and two unjust, the Bishop of Rome and Luther, who was the worst of bothe. They being asked why, contrarie to their promise, they had driven the innocentes out of their citie, occupying their goods, wives, and children; and by what place of the Scripture they wolde prove that their fact to be well and justly done? they answered, 'That the time was come which Christe spake of, that the meeke should possess the earth; and that in lyke case God did give the goods of the Aegyptians to the Israelites.' Afterward they tolde of the munition and victualles that were in the citie, and the multitude; and also, that many in it had above five wives a peace: adding this, that they loked for armies of men out of Friseland and Holand; which when they were once come, the King wold set forth with all his host, to bring the whole worlde under his power and subjection, after that he had killed all the kings therof for not ministring justice.

Anabaptistes are as meeke as waspes.

"When they had bene reasoned withall after this maner, and they continued in their purpose, and wolde acknowledge none other Magistrate then their King, they were all put to death, saving one that escaped. The citie was so hardly and so straitly beseged, that none could either go in or out. Wherefore the citizens fearing famishment, and seing the danger that they were in, they thoght to have taken the King and to deliver him to the Bishop bound; but he getting knowledge therof, chose twelve out of all the multitude, such as he thoght

The obstinacie of Anabaptistes.

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to be most faithful unto him, and called them Captaines; and to eache of them he appointed certeine quarters of the citie to defend, and garisons of men to kepe the people from rising. Moreover, he promised to all the multitude, that by Easter the siege should be removed, and that they should be delivered from the necessitie that they were in. But unto them which he had chosen to be Captaines, he promised much more largely, that they should be lordes and governours over many things, naming the towres and land that he wold give to eache of them. Also, he said that only the Lantgrave should be pardoned, because he hoped that he wold take his part.

"We spake before of the Convention (appointed at Confluence) of the noble men in the province of the Rhine, in the moneth of December; unto which companie (of his owne good will) the Duke of Saxon Elector John Frederick joyned himselfe. In this session it was concluded, that for the present ayding of the Bishop, there should be appointed furth 300 horsemen and 3000 foote men, for sixe monethes. The Countie of Obersten, named Vlrik,[1] was made General Captaine over this armye, and of the whole warres. It was also there ordeined, that the whole estates of the empire should be desired to ayde in this mater; and, because the Emperour was in Spaine, that Ferdinandus the King should be desired for this matter to appoint a Convention in the moneth of Aprile. And also, they sent letters unto the citie besieged, willing them to give over their entreprise, being so unhonest and wicked as nothing could be more; which thing if they wold not, neither submit themselves againe under their lawfull Magistrates, they should be sure that the Bishoppe, which now kept the siege, should have the whole helpe of the Empire against them. This was about the end of December. They gave answere the 13th of Januarie, in the yere of our Lord 1535, with manie wordes, but nothing to the purpose; yet so, that they praysed and de-

[1] "The Countie of Obersten, named Vlrik," in the original, "Vulrichius Comes Oberstenius."

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fended their entreprise. And as touching that which was laid to their charge, for their creating of a King, they made no answere at all; but in private letters written to the Lantgrave, they laboured to excuse themselves, speaking many wordes of the slaughter and destruction of the wicked, and of the deliverance and reigne of the godly in this life. With these letters, they sent also unto him the boke, wherof we spake before, called 'The Restitution,' and advertised him to repent, and not to make warre (as did the other wicked Princes) against them, which were innocent men, and the people of God. The Lantgrave, when he had read their letters and their booke, he noted those pointes that were not allowable in the same, and gave charge to certen of his learned men that they should answere them. And because they (in few wordes, and verie darkely) affirmed their King to be more chosen of God then by them, he asked them. 'Why they shewed not the places of Scripture which made them think it lawfully done, and why they confirmed it not before by some miracles and signes above nature! For (said he) God shewed by all the Prophetes long before of the comming of Christe, so that it was not onely evident of what house and linage he should come, but also in what time, and where he should be borne.' They did also desire that their cause might come in question. Unto the which the Lantgrave answered, 'That it was too late, seeing that they had taken the power of the sworde into their handes, and had beene the authors of so great calamitie. For (said he) all men may plainly see what is their meaning, to wit, the ruine of all lawes and commonwealthes; and as their beginning is wicked and cursed, so also is the desiring of their mater to come in question nothing but feined and dissembled: Also, that he had sent unto them faithful Ministers, by whome they were wel and godly instructed; but seing they had refused their doctrine, giving over obedience to Magistrates, possessing other men's goods, having manie wives, chosing unto them a new King, denying Christe to have taken the nature of man of the Virgin

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Marie, affirming man to have free wil, forcing men to put their goods in common, denying pardon to those that sinne; all these opinions to be utterly repugnant both to the law of God and of man.' After they had received this answere, they answered againe in writing, and withall they sent a boke, set forthe in the Dutch tongue,[1] of the mysteries of the Scripture. In their Epistle, they published their cause againe anew, and defended their doctrine to be good in their forsaid boke. They devided the whole course and ages of the world into three partes; and the first age, as from Adam untill Noach, to have perished with the flood; the seconde, in which now we be, to perish with fyre; the third, they saye, shalbe new, in the which righteousnes shal reigne. But before that the last age shalbe reveled, this that now is must be purged with fire. 'But that (say they) shal not come to passe before Antichrist be disclosed, and his power be utterly put downe. Then shal the ruined seate of David be erected againe, and Christe shall reigne upon the earth. and all the writings of the Prophetes shalbe fulfilled. And as touching this present age, it is like to the time of the which Isai speaketh, 'for justice is put to silence in it, and the godly are afflicted.' But now the time of libertie and deliverance from so many and great calamities is come, as it came unto the Israelites being in the captivitie of Babylon, and the wicked shal receave the full reward of their wickednes, as it is prophecied in the Apocalypse; but this restitution to go before the world to come, to the end that, all the wicked being oppressed, the seat of justice might be prepared.' When the Lantgrave had redde over their boke, he gave charge to certen Ministers of his church to answere unto it.

"In Februarie, the famine was so great in the citie, that divers perished with hunger. One of the Kinges wives being striken with pitie towardes the people, spake by chance unto the other women, and said, 'That she thoght it was not the

[1] In the orig., "et librum una mittunt, lingua populari compositum:" in the Engl. translation, 1560, "compyled in the vulgare tongue."

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wil of God that the people should so dye for lacke of sustenance.' The King, which had good provision in the house, not onely to serve his necessitie, but also to waste superfluously, knowing of this, he broght her into the market place, with all the residue of his wives, and there commanded her to knele downe upon her knees, and then he cut of her head from her shoulders; and yet not so content, after her death he defamed her with whoredome. This being done, his other wives beganne to sing, and to give praises to the heavenly Father. Then danced they, and the King led the dance; and he exhorted the people also (which had no other victualles left save onely bread and salt) that they should dance and be of good chere. Now, when the day of Easter was come, and that there appered no signe of deliverance, the King, which had made them so many goodly and large promises, that he might finde some meanes to excuse himselfe withall, he feined himselfe to be sicke sixe daies together; which dayes being ended, he came furth unto the market place, and said unto the people, that he had ridden upon a blind asse, and that the Father had put upon him the sinnes of all the multitude, so that they were all made cleane and purged from their sinnes, and that this was the deliverance promised by him, with the which they ought to be content.

The simplicitie of the Anabaptistes.

"Among other things that Luther caused to be printed in that time, speaking of those that were besieged in Monstere, he said thus: 'Oh, what shall I say, or how shall I bewaile this unhappie people? The thing itself doth declare that they be possessed with many devilles. But we ought to give praise to the merciful goodnes of God: for althogh that Germanie hath deserved, for the contemning of the Gospel, hatred of God's name, and shedding of innocent blood, to be grievously punished by the hand of God; yet, notwithstanding, he hath brideled the force and violence of Sathan hitherto, not suffering him to rage at his pleasure, but hath mercifully warned us; and by this foolish tragedie of Monstere, called us to amende-

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ment of life. For except that God did brydle hym, and drawe hym backe, I dout not but that most subtile and craftie spirit wold have handeled this mater far otherwise. But now when as God hathe thus restreyned hym, he is not able to do so muche as he wolde and as he desireth; but so farre as God permitteth him, he fretteth and rageth. For the Devil, which desireth to destroy the Christian faith, goeth not this way to worke, to give libertie for men to have many wives at once; for he knoweth well that men do abhorre it, it is so open, detestable, and filthie a thing, in all mennes eyes. The politick and civil government may this way be troubled; but to invade the kingdome of Christe withall, there must be other maner of weapons and engines used. For he that wil go about to flatter the people by fraude and deceat, he must not be desirous to reigne, not to declare himself a tyranne, (for all the world reproveth that, and seeth to what end such enterprises do tend:) but he must come by some privie meanes; as by holie speakings; his garments homelie, and not lyke unto others; a grave countenance, his head hanging toward the ground; in abstinence, not touching money, not eating flesh, refusing mariage, esteming civile government and bearing of autoritie to be a prophane thing; to refuse to beare rule, and to professe hymselfe to be of a singulare and lowlie spirite. This (I say) is the readie way or meanes which may deceave even the verie wise, and all by simulation and subtilitie to aspire to the highest reigne upon earth. But to usurpe autoritie with unshamefast extremitie, and for filthie desire to take as manie wives as he list, this is not the craft of any practised devil, but of some rude and late sprong up spirit: or at least if he be of any experience, yet God hathe now so tyed hym in chaynes that he can no more subtely deceave; which thing the Lord doeth, to the end that we should reverence his Majestie, and that we should be first stirred up to repentance before he let lose the bridle of some more expert devil, which surely shall assault and besiege us much more sharply, and with greater furie. For if this litle

Let Germanie advert, for their Prophet speaketh.

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Master devil can stirre up suche a trouble, what shall the great Doctor devil of bothe the Lawes do when he shall come and practise all his power against us? Wherfore this homelie devil, that is of so small experience, is not of us greatly to be feared.[1] And I do also think, that all the inhabitants of Monstere do not allow their toying folie, but that diverse of them do greatly sorow, which (not without many sighes and teares) do look for deliverance at God's hand, as it hath bene sene afore in the seditions of the bowres.[2] And I wolde to God there were no devil in the worlde of greater craft then this devil of Monstere is, provided that God take not his Worde from us.

"'For I suppose there be but verie few that will give credence to this so grosse and unlearned a master. But, indede, when God is angrie or displeased, there is no error so folish, unlikely, or out of order, which Satan shal not persuade some to beleve; as we see to be broght to passe in the doctrine of Mahomet. For thogh all their teaching is fond, yet notwithstanding, the light of God's Worde being quenched, it toke strength, and hathe spred furth itself so large and mightie as we see it this day. And the like had come to passe in Germanie, if God had not put doune the enterprise and counsel of Muncere. For with the least sparke that is, Satan can make a great flame (if God do suffer him); and a better way to quench it withall there is not then with the Worde of God. For when the weapons of the ennemie are all together spiritual, he can not be overcome with a multitude of horses, or any enginnes of warre. But our Princes and Bishoppes worke otherwise; for they hinder the doctrine of the Gospell, which is the onely way wherby the myndes and heartes of men may be healed.

[1] In the English translation, 1560, Luther's words are probably thus more closely rendered: "For if this deuyl, being but a symple grammarian, hath styred up so muche trouble, what shall we than do, when Sathan, of much more knowledge, being an expert Lawyer, and a perfite diuine, shall make towardes us with full sayle? Wherfore there is no great feare of this so ungoodly a deuyll."—(Fol. cxxxiv.)

[2] In the Engl. transl., 1560, "in the sedition of the countrey men." See *supra*, p. 426.

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"'And in the mean tyme they violently torment them, to plucke the bodie from the Devil, leaving to him the principal part of man, which is his heart and soule; using the mater as the Jewes did, which thoght to extinguish and put doune Christe by the punishment of the Crosse. But now as touching the common brute and writings that go of Monstere, I have no doubt but that it is so as it is reported: and that which they themselves have written of late maketh me fully to beleve it, in which they paint out lively their owne furie and madnes. First of all, they teach of the faith verie foolish and absurde things, and of Christ as thogh he tooke not flesh of the Virgine Marie, and yet they confesse him to be of the sede of David. But they utter not their myndes fully; and without doubt Satan doeth nourish some monstre, which may easily be perceaved by this which they say, 'The sede or the flesh of Marie can not deliver us.' But in vaine is their travaile, for the Scripture witnesseth Christe to be borne of the Virgine Marie. Which saying, in all langages, is referred to the frute, which being conceaved and fashioned of the flesh and blood of his mother, is borne into the worlde. Also they shewe furth their ignorance, in that they condemne the first baptisme as a profane thing, esteming it not as the institution of God, but of man. But if it be so, that all maner of things oght to be condemned and put away that either the wicked have or do give, then do I mervell that they cast not away the gold and the silver with the other goods that they took from the wicked, and devise some other meanes to live by. For as these things be the creatures and worke of God, so is Baptisme also. When the wicked man sweareth, he abuseth the true name of God; and if the name of God be not true to him, then he offendeth not. He that killeth, robbeth, or spoileth, he transgresseth the commandement of God; but if the commandement of God be not true unto him, he sinneth not. Even so, if the first baptisme be nothing, then the receavers of it have not offended. Wherefor then do they so much detest the first baptisme as a

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wicked thing, whereas, notwithstanding, they affirme it to be nothing? Also, if the mariages in times past ought to be taken as whoredom and adulterie, as they say, because they were contracted of them that wanted faith, I pray you do they not confesse themselves to be the children of harlottes? Now, if they be bastardes and unlawfully begotten, how cometh it to passe that they injoye their citie and the possession of their forefathers? It were meete, therefore, seing they be such, that they should have no enteres into the heritages of their anceters, but that in this new kinde of mariage that they are entred into they should gett unto themselves new goods and richesse, which might beare a more honest title. For it is uncomelie for these holie and religious men that they should live with the goods of harlottes and miscreantes, or that they should winne them to themselves frome others by violence and robberie. And as touching their kingdome, which is to be laughed at, there is so much wickednes in it, and so manifest, that we shall not nede to make many wordes of it. And truely, for those thinges whereof we have spoken, as we have treated more then inough, so also more then neede, considering that it hathe bene so plentifully and largely set furth by others.'

"Now, when they in the Citie were come into this case, that diverse of them daily died for hunger, and that many also departed from thence, and came out so weake and feble that the ennemies had pitie upon them, the Captaine sent worde to the townes men, that if they wolde deliver to them the King and certen others, they themselves should be perdoned. The citizens, althogh they had good will so to do, yet durst they not go about it, the crueltie of the King was so great, and the watch was kept so streitly. For the King was so obstinate, that as long as there remained any thing for him to eate, and a few others, he was fully bent not to yelde. For which cause the Captaines sent word againe, and commanded them, that from thencefurth they should not send any furthe of their citie, not so much as children or women. This was in the calendes

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of June; the day folowing, they made unjust compleining that their cause might not lawfully be heard, and that they were wrongfully afflicted above measure; also, profering themselves to submission if any could shew them wherein they offended. Furthermore, they expounded a certen place of Daniel, as of the fourth beast much more cruel then the others. The conclusion of their letters was this: 'That God aiding them, they wold stand to the trueth which they had confessed;' but all this was written at the King's commandement.

"Now, when all things were come to the extremitie in the citie, there were two that fled from thence, of which one was taken of the soldiours, the other came to the Bishope under safe-conduct. Both these shewed how the citie might be taken. The Bishope and the General-Captain hearing the words of these two fugitives, and weying the mater, the xxii. of June they talked with them of the citie, advertising them to yelde themselves into their hands, and to save the multitude which perished with hunger. Answer was made, in the presence of the King, by Roteman, that in no wise they wold give over from that which they had begonne. Two daies after, about the eleventh houre in the night, the armie came nere to the citie without making any noise. By the advice of the two fugitives, certen chosen soldiours passed the ditch and came to the trench, killing the watchemen; others folowed after these, which founde a little gate open, through which they entred into the citie, to the nomber of five hundreth, with certein Capteines and standerds. Then they of the citie came running unto that place, and with great paine kept they the residue of the armie out which wolde have entered; and shutting the gate, they fell upon them that were come in with a great rage, and killed many of them. And when the conflict betwene them had indured two houres, verie sharp and furious, the soldiours that were inclosed did burst open the next gate, which was not kept with any great strength, and so made they an entres in for their felowes, which streight way entered in by a great company. The citizens resisted

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them a little at the first brunt, but they gathered themselves together in the market place, and being in despaire of any victorie (many of them being slayn at the first bursting in), they desired and intreated for mercie; which was granted unto them. The King and Knipperdoling were taken the same time. Roteman disparing of his life, ranne among the heape of the ennemies, and was so thrust through, rather then he wolde fall alive into their handes.

"When the citie was taken, the Bishope tooke to himself half the spoile and the ordinance; afterward he discharged the armies, reserving onely to himself two ensignes[1] for defence. Then was there another convention of the empire at Wormes, the fiftenth of Julie, wherein King Ferdinandus, by his embassador, proposed and demanded whether any thing els were to be done concerning the rooting out of the Anabaptistes, seing the towne was alreadie taken; he also advertised them that the Princes ought to aske counsel of the Bishope of Rome. Wherunto they answered, that it was alredie provided by certen edictes what was best to be done to the Anabaptistes, and that the Emperour had asked counsell of the Bishop ofter then once; neither could he do any more in the mater. In the same convention, the Bishop of Monstere desired his charges and losses to be recompensed, compleining that the money promised was not payd. But when no thing els could be determined, few of the nobles being present, another convention was called in the same place, the first of Novembre, wherein the things concerning the warre and the charges thereof might be known; wherein also it might be decreed what forme of commonwelth were after to be established at Monstere. When the day was come, the Embassadour of King Ferdinandus briefly repeted the causes of that present convention, to witt, that among other things, it might also be deliberated, how the citie newly conquered might from thenceforthe continue in the olde religion. After these things, the Bishoppe's Legate shew-

[1] Two companies.

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eth what great charges he was at all the warre tyme, how greatly he was indebted, and how it was necessarie (the citie being now taken), for the avoiding of tumultes and other dangers, to build two castles in the citie, with strong holdes; all which thinges he desired to be considered. To these things answer was made, that the Bishoppe had taken the greater parte of the spoile, with all the ordinance and goods of the citizens, which wholie apparteined to the commonwelthe of the empire; therefore that it was reason the value should be counted and communicated with the charges, and what other things were necessarie besides should also be considered. After it was determined, That the Bishoprike of Monstere should be under the Empire, after the ancient custome, and that all the nobilitie should be restored, and the citizens also which had departed to other places, so they were not Anabaptistes: That the Bishoppe should set forthe the religion according to the decree of the empire: That in the beginning of the next spring, the Embassadours of the Princes should go to Monstere to know the state of the citizens, and to kepe them in savegard; to pull doune all the forteresses which the Anabaptistes had erected; and that the Bishop also should pull doune the castles which he had builded in the citie; and that he should, without delay, put to death the King, with Knipperdoling and Crechting, the prisoners, without reteining them any longer. As for that which we said was determined of religion, the Duke of Saxone, the Lantgrave, Wirtemberg, and Anhold, testified openly that they wold not consent to it. The citizens also professed the same; neither wold they have the old forteresses of the towne distroied; but they consented to the pulling downe of the new. The King and his two fellow-captives were caried hither and thither to the Princes to be gazed and laughed at: by which occasion the preachers of the Lantgrave talked and disputed with the King, chiefly of these pointes, of the kingdome of Christe, of Magistrates, of justification, of baptisme, of the supper of the Lord, of the incarnation of

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Christe, and of mariage; and they prevailed so muche by the testimonie of the Scriptures, that althogh they did not altogither convert him, yet they so bowed and confounded him, (notwithstanding his repugnance, and defending his opinions,) that at the last he granted to the most part of all; which, nevertheles, is thoght that he did but to save his life. For when they came to him the second tyme, he promised, so he might be pardoned, to bring to passe that all the Anabaptistes, which were in great nombre through all Holand, Braband, England, and Friseland, should kepe silence, and in all thinges obey the Magistrates. Those same men also disputed with the King's felowes, both by communication and writing, of mortification, of the baptisme of infantes, of the communion of their goods, and of the kingdome of Christe. When they were come to Telgate, the Bishoppe asked the King by what auctoritie he arrogated to himself such libertie over his citie and people? Who asked him againe, 'Who gave him auctoritie and power in the citie?' And when the Bishopp answered, 'That he obteined that jurisdiction by the consent of the congregation and people;' 'Even so (saith he) was I called thereunto of God.' Then were they carried backe againe to Monstere, the twentie of January, where eche of them were put in a severall prison.

An equal vocation of the Anabaptist and Papist.

"The same day came the Bishoppe thither, with the Archbishop of Collen, and the Embassadours of the Duke of Cleave with him. Two daies after they were exhorted by godlie admonitions to convert from their errors. And, indede, the King acknowledged his sinne, and made his recourse to Christe by praier; the other two wold not confesse that they had offended at all, but obstinatly defended their false opinions. The next day after, the King was broght forth into an high place, and bound to a poste, where were present two executioners with fyrie tongues to torment them withall. The King at the three first pyntches of the tongues held his peace, afterward crying to God incessantly for mercie. When he had bene torne on

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this maner for the space of an houre and more, he was thrust through the breast with a sharp sword and died. The same punishment also had his felowes: which being all dead, they were eche of them bound in yron cofers, and hong up in the toppe of the towre of the citie, the King in the middest, higher then his fellowes by the stature of a man."

This fearefull tragedie, in which God's most just judgementes are declared, doth teach unto us two things: The former, what may the innocent and the godlie looke for, if ye may bring your enterprises to passe; and secondarely, what doeth the worlde and the rulers now on earth, for the most part, deserve. As touching you, howsoever for a time ye cloke your crueltie, what simplicitie so ever ye declare in your externall gesture, whatsoever ye speake of charitie and love, and howsoever ye seme to be zealous over the truth, yet shall you in the end produce no other frute then these yours fathers have done before you. If that I liste to note particular examples, I might shew in your sect, and amongest you, to have bene so horrible enormities, as more horrible were never from the beginning. But lest I might seme to take any pleasure in accusing particular persons, I will not at this present write all that I know. Onely (I say) that the Church of God may looke for no other thing at your hand, but for confusion of all God's ordinances, and for more cruel persecution then ever yet it did susteine since the daies of the Apostles. For what your fathers began in Monstere in their purpose, you do performe and finish; and to that end do you write your bookes, some calling all the Scriptures of God in doubt, some affirming that there is a more perfect knowledge then that which is conteined or expressed in the Word; some plainely denying the Godhead of Christ Jesus, and of the Holy Ghost; some claiming libertie that no man should be troubled for his conscience, cloking under that title all blasphemie and diabolicall doctrine. And you, now last in accusing us of these most odious crimes, where-

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of we be most innocent, ye and your brethern, I say, in teaching this your pestilent doctrine, and accusing us who gainstand your devilish errors, do plainely declare what ye have already intended, if God by his great power bridle not your furie. And assuredly the world and the Rulers of the earth (for the most part) most justly deserve so to be entreated. As for the Church of God, it must be subject to the Crosse, even untill the comming of the Lord Jesus from the heavens. But the world, I say, and the Princes of the earth, (which is the seconde point which we have to marke in this former Historie,) most justly deserve to be punished with suche confusion as ye intend. For the one and the other (I meane the Princes and the people) conspired to this day against God, against his Sonne Christe Jesus, and against his eternal Veritie. They mainteine impietie, superstition, and idolatrie; they cruelly murther the saintes of God, and so do they rejoyse in all kinde of tyrannie, that God's just judgementes can not long delaye punishment.

And therfore, leaving you Anabaptistes into the handes of Him whose power ye can not escape, I am compelled in few words to admonish you, as well the People as the Princes, that spedely ye retourne to the living God, whose veritie so long ye have oppugned, whose religion ye gainstand, and true messingers ye persecute, or els persuade yourselves that vengeance is prepared. He will not entreate you as he hath done his afflicted church and deare children; that is, he will not call you to repentance by a fatherlye correction, the end wherof shall turne to your comfort. Not so, not so; but as ye have still rebelled and dishonored him, so will he powre forthe contempt upon you, in the which ye shal perish bothe temporally and for ever. And by whom doeth it most appere that temporally ye shalbe punished? Of us, whom ye banish, whome ye spoile and robbe, whome cruelly ye persecute, and whose blood ye dayly shed? There is no doubt, but as the victorie which overcometh the world is our faith, so it behoveth us to possess our soules in our

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pacience. We neither prively nor openly denie the power of the Civile Magistrate; we do not claime the communaltie of all thinges in this life; the pluralitie of wives we do abhorre; we wold not destroye God's ordinances and pollicie, by him established in common welthes, but we hate and detest all such confusion. Onely we desire the people and the Rulers to be subject unto God, and unto his holy will plainly reveled in his most sacred Worde. And therfore of us, I saye, ye are and maye be without all feare.

But what may ye loke for if the Anabaptistes shal atteine to their purpose? The confusion and tyrannie used by those of whome we have spoken, is, and may be, a glasse wherein ye may see your judgement and end most fearfull, unlesse that unfeinedly ye repent. Flatter not yourselves that ye be able at all times to prevaile in battel by strength, because that in nomber ye be manie, or because those Princes of Germanie prevailed against that most miserable and most wicked sort of enraged Anabaptistes. Consider, consider deeply in your heartes, that when God will punish, no multitude can resist. At that time God gave victorie to the Princes, and did suppress the furie of those wicked men, not because the Princes were just, and had deserved suche a benefite at God's hand; No, the most part were wicked, as their factes since have plainely declared. But God had respect to his owne glorie and honour. He did admonish his Elect, by their examples, to beware of such poison; and did also by such confusion call you to repentance. Of late yeres before, was the Evangile of Christ Jesus revived in Germanie, the harvest of the Lord was not come to ripeness, and therfor for his own name's sake he wold not suffer that pestilence so sodainly to prevaile. But now seing that of so long continuance from wickednes ye procede to open contempt of God and of his true religion, shall he suffer you to rage without punishment? No! his justice can not. And what instrumentes can God (I say) finde in this life more apte to punish you then those that hate and detest all lawfull powers,

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and do thirst nothing more then such confusion as before ye have heard? God will not use his saintes and chosen children to punish you. For with them is alwaies mercie, yea, even althogh God have pronounced a curse and malediction, as in the Historie of Josua is plaine. But as ye have pronounced wrong and cruel judgement without mercie, so will he punish you by suche as in whome there is no mercie. Tremble therefore, and convert unto God if that ye think to escape vengeance, confusion, and shame, bothe temporal and for ever.

Now to the conclusion of your booke. Thus ye finish:

THE 47TH SECTION.

THE ADVERSARIE.

Judge now, gentill Reader, uprightly; and here I commit thee to God, beseching him to open the eies of thy minde, that thou maiest know the trueth in this, and in all other matters necessarie to thy salvation.

ANSWER.

As you will all men to reade and to judge with indifferencie, even so do we, requiring of God not onely that so the eyes of men maye be lightened that clearely they may see things apperteining to salvation, but also that, by the mightie operation of God's Holie Spirit, they may be confirmed and so sanctified in his eternall Veritie, that to the end they may continue in the simplicitie of his Holy Worde: and further, that all men may see to what confusion your doctrine tendeth, the ground wherof is your owne vaine imagination, and the end, (as before we have said,) not onely the destruction of all God's ordinances necessarie for this present lyfe, but also the treading under foote of the bright glorie of Christe Jesus. For the more that ye extoll Free will and the Vertues of man, the more do ye obscure the justice of Faith, which onely is acceptable in the presence of God, and the lesse do ye attribute to Christe Jesus his death and passion. Yea, some of you are not ashamed, in your envenomed doctrine wherein secretly ye traine your scholars, to affirme that we that now live after Christes death, have

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no other benefite, either by him or by his death, but onely an example to suffer as he did. O! seede of the Serpent, thy father Pelagius was never so impudent, neither yet did ever the Devil finde anie of his instrumentes (before thee) so bolde, as that against the Holy Scriptures of God he durst affirme that horrible blasphemie. Darest thou denie, but that the death of Christe Jesus shall, to the consummation of all thinges, have the same efficacie that it hath had from the beginning? Did not Christe suffer for our sinnes, not for our example onely, but because we were not able to satisfie the justice of God which we had all offended, that therefore the punishment of our offenses was laid upon him? Have we any more power now then had his Disciples, to whome he said, "Without me ye can do nothing"? Doeth not he remaine a soveraigne Priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedech? Is it not He who by one sacrifice made perfect for ever such as either have bene, are, or shalbe sanctified of that polluted seede of Adam? Finally, is it not He alone who giveth libertie, salvation, and lyfe to his bodye, which is the Church, not in one age, but from the beginning to the end? Satan himself is compelled thus farre to confesse, and therfore be thou shamed, O! thou blasphemous mouth. What other monsters ye norish and fede in the stincking denne of your envenomed heartes, time will revele. And if it shall please God to assist my weakenes, I will not spare labors to communicate with my brethren what pestilence lurketh in your envenomed doctrine, to the end that all the faithful may avoyde the same.

You fearing to forget any thing of your master Castalio's scurrilitie, do thus conclude:

THE ADVERSARIE. THE 48TH SECTION.

And as for you, Carelesse Men, you ought to take it in good worth whatsoever I have said. First, because it is trueth; secondly, because ye holde that all things be done of mere Necessitie, then have I written this of Necessitie.

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ANSWER.

To the which I answere, that if the Devill were not a lier, and the father, not of lyes onely, but also of all deceatful lyers, it were not possible that you, who in so manie thinges have declared yourselves horrible lyers, should vainly bragge that ye have written the trueth. For besides those odious crimes, which most impudently and most falsely you lay to our charge, amongest all the scriptures by you alledged, their are not three which ye do not abuse; yea, and in some ye do so openly belye the Holy Ghost, that you conclude contrarie to his expressed wordes. But when I consider that your master and father, Satan himself, eshamed not, in the presence of Christe Jesus, to boast and to bragge that all the power and glorie of the earth was given unto him, and that he gave it to such as best pleased him, when yet in very dede he had no power to give to his fellow-angelles and companions of darkeness licence to enter into the bellies of swine, till that he and they were faine to begge that pleasant palace of him to whom all power is given in heaven and in earth: when this, I saye, I do consider, I do more lament your miserable blindness then that I can stomake against your vanitie, except in so farre as to the ende, I must saye, that such as obstinatelye denie the plaine trewth of God, are lyers, and the sonnes of that lier who first deceaved man, and powred into his hart the same venome and error which this day ye teach and mainteine. For he was bold to affirme, that wisdom and lyfe was to be found by other meanes then God had determined; yea, where God had pronounced death and damnation, he promised salvation and life; and so do you. For God hath appointed life to none of his Elect but in Christe Jesus onely, and that by such meanes as in his holy Word expressed, which are trew faith, continuall repentance, abnegation of ourselves, of our owne justice and wisdom; and, finally, by receaving (of free grace) in Christe Jesus whatsoever we have lost in Adam.

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But ye eshame not to affirme, that the justice of Christe sufficeth us not, except that we have a personall justice of our owne. How coldely ye speake or write of his death, of his resurrection, of his mediation and perpetuall intercession, is evident. Your bragging and prowd boasting of your owne justice, and of your greate perfection, are evident tokens how you do agree with Christe Jesus, the trueth and veritie itself, who commandeth us to saye, (not for the fashion, but from unfeined heartes,) "We are unprofitable servantes." But some of you in your jesting eshame not to say, that ye are not two thousand passes[1] distant from the fulness of perfection. But this your vanitie (your blasphemies excepted) doth not greately offend us. For a small pricke of a pinne, or of a nedle, shalbe sufficient to declare that bladders (be they never so streitly blowen) conteine in themselves nothing but wind. That by Necessitie you have written your railing blasphemies and most impudent lies, we easily confesse. For seing that ye are the seede of the Serpent, (I meane such as in your error shall continue to the end), what thing can you els do, but of necessitie spew forthe vennom when the weight of God's eternall veritie beginneth a litle to presse downe your head, (for so doeth the serpent whensoever she is touched). But why do ye not consider, (seing ye be reasonable serpentes,) that like as prowdly ye lift yourselves against the glorie of the eternall Sonne of God, and as ye cease not maliciously to slander such instrumentes as in his Church be most profitable and most worthie of prayse in the eyes of all godly; that likewise of Necessitie it is that ye come to ruine, that your pride be repressed, and your blasphemous tongues be confounded for ever; seing that God, who hateth all iniquitie, must nedes resist the proude, destroy the lying lippes, and remove from his societie such as declare themselves enemies to his eternall Veritie; the knowledge wherof, we confesse with Job, commeth onely by inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and doth not procede from flesh or blood,

[1] "Passes," paces.

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from studie, care, or worldly wisdome, but is the free gift of God revealed to the little ones, and commonly hid from the wisest of the world. Which sentence wold God that depely ye could wey, for then I doubt not but that ye should clearely see, that to come to Christe Jesus, is neither of the runner, neither yet of the willer, but of God, who sheweth mercie to such as pleaseth him: whose counselles eternal, and judgementes most profound, can no creature apprehend and compasse; and therfore ought all the true servantes of God, with reverence and with trembling saye, "O! how incomprehensible are thy judgements, O Lord, and how unsearchable are thy wayes; for of thee, by thee, and for thee, are all things. To thee be glorie for ever and ever." So be it.

ISAIAH LIV.

"EVERIE TONGUE THAT SHALL CONTEND WITH THEE IN JUDGEMENT, THE SAME SHALT THOU MOST RIGHTLY CONDEMNE."

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AN EPISTLE

TO THE INHABITANTS OF NEWCASTLE AND BERWICK.

M.D.LVIII.

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THE following Epistle and Exhortation are dated in November 1558 and January 1559 respectively, and were printed in a very diminutive volume, not long before Knox's final departure from Geneva. This volume was unknown to Dr M'Crie, who, judging from its title, says, "This was perhaps another edition of his Godly Letter," of 1554,[1] or the Letter contained in vol. iii. pp. 157–215. It is indeed of such rarity, that I have never been able to see more than two copies. One of these is in the Bodleian Library;[2] the other appeared in a London Catalogue, a few years ago, and was purchased by an eminent London collector. This gentleman, J. H. Turner, Esq., upon learning the object for which I was most anxious to have secured the original, with a liberality which merits my best thanks, gave me the free use of the volume for the purpose of having it carefully transcribed. The small size, and probably the limited number of copies printed, chiefly for private distribution, may account for its extreme rarity, while Knox's larger work on Predestination, also printed at Geneva, in the following year, is comparatively common.

In his Address to the Inhabitants of Newcastle and Berwick, Knox writes in the same strain as in his earlier Letters of Admonition. He expresses in forcible terms the lamentable condition of England under Spanish oppression, and alludes to the loss of Calais, which is said to have hastened Queen Mary's death. In addressing his former people, after referring to his own labours among them, he laments that so many of those who once boldly professed the Gospel, should, "in these dolorous

[1] Life of Knox, vol. ii. p. 267.

[2] In the Bodleian Catalogue, 1843, vol. ii. p. 486, it is by some oversight entered with the date 1560.

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days," have reverted to their idolatrous worship; and while he makes an earnest exhortation to repentance, he expresses deep regret, "wounded almost to death," upon considering the small fruit resulting from his former ministrations.

Along with this Epistle, the volume contains his "Brief Exhortation to England for the speedy embracing of the Gospel," with a separate title-page, as given at page 501; and the Names of English Martyrs from the year 1554 to 1558.

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THE COPIE OF
AN EPISTLE SENT BY IOHN KNOX ONE OF the Miniſters of the Engliſhe Church at Geneua vnto the inhabitants of Newcaſtle & Barwike.

In
the end wherof is added a briefe exhortation to England for the ſpedie imbraſing of Chriſtes Goſpel heretofore ſuppreſſed & baniſhed.

* *
*

MATT. CHAP. VII.

Euerie tree, which bringeth not fourthe good fruite, is hewne downe, and caſt into the fyer.

AT GENEVA.
M.D.LIX.

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MATH. X.

Whosoever shal confesse me before men, him wil I confesse also before my Father whiche is in heaven; but whosoever shal denie me before men, him wil I also denye before my Father whiche is in heaven.

The original volume measures about 4 by 2¼ inches; and contains sign. a to h in eights, pp. 127, including the title. The Exhortation commences on p. 55; and the Names of the Martyrs on p. 109.

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JOHN KNOX TO THE INHABITANTES OF NEWCASTLE AND BARWIKE, AND UNTO AL OTHER, WHO SOMETYME IN THE REALME OF ENGLANDE PROFESSED CHRIST JESUS, AND NOW BE RETURNED TO THE BONDAGE OF IDOLATRIE, WISHETH TRUE AND EARNEST REPENTANCE BY THE POWRE AND OPERATION OF THAT SAME SPIRITE WHO CALLED FROM DEATH JESUS, THE ONELY PASTOUR OF OUR SOWLES.

The reason of man is not able to judge of the wonderful workes of God towardes his Church.

IF the reason of man shal be called to judg what frute ensuethe the payneful travail of God's most faithfull servantes, who at his commandement studie to repayre his citie, and to purge his temple, not onely shal their labours be estemed for a tyme to be vainly spent, but skarsely shal the wisdome of God, throughe man's rashe judgement, escape condemnation; neither shal the veritie of his promesses be free frome suspition of falsehod and vanitie. For to man's reason nothing appeareth more absurde, folishe, nor unreasonable, then that God (whose powre no creature is able to resist) shal send fourth his messingers to performe his worke and wil, and that the same shalbe so impugned, that their building in their owne eies shalbe overthrowne and destroyed; and that the natural man can not see how the promesses of Christ Jesus, made to his Apostles, and under their names to all true preachers of his holy Gospel, in these wordes can be proven constant and true: "I have (saith he) appointed you to go and to bring fourthe frute, and that your frute shal abyde." The stabilitie and truth (I say) of this promesse dothe not sodenly appear, but rather the playne contrary. For yf the frute of the Gospel and glad tydinges preached be first, in this lyfe, the glorie of God (I meane such goode workes as may declare the spirite of regeneration) shining in man after that he be planted in Christ Jesus; and, after this battel, the

The preaching of the Worde semeth folishnes to the worlde.

John 15.

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joy prepared for God's children; yf these (I say) be the frutes of Christ Jesus preached, then appeare the most parte of trees to be destroyed before the tyme of frute dothe approche. For some by tyrannie and violence are rooted out frome the societie of earthely creatures before they beginne to florish, and so is their frute to man's judgement impeaded and hindered; some are blasted and wythred with stormy windes; and some are corrupted either by vermine or by venemous humors proceding frome a corrupt fountayne; so that the frute of none almost dothe appeare to our eyes. To speake the matter simply and without figure, the men that appeared to the faithfull laborers to have bene planted in Christ, who callethe himself the verie vyne, and those that professe his truthe the vine branches, are subject to so many tentacions, that skarsely emongst a thowsand dothe one take roote, and bring forthe frute with pacience. Notwithstanding, suche as by tyrannye and violent persecution are suddaynly reft from this lyfe, do nevertheles produce and bring forthe frute delectable and pleasing in the sight of Him, who hathe appointed an ende to the travayl and miseries of his deare children, albeyt this frute to the natural man is so sowre and unsavery, so hard and unpleasant, that the onely sight of it not onely gyvethe occasion to the reprobat to utter their venome and malice against Christ Jesus, but also for a season it vexeth God's most deare children. For as the one doeth insolently rejoyce, as thoghe God dyd favor and maintein their tyrannye, so dothe the other undiscretely lament and pronounce wrong judgement, esteminge that more it shulde stande with God's glorie and honour, and more also with the profit of his Churche, that suche as to whome he hathe of mercie granted notable graces, shulde rather be preserved in lyfe, then permitted and given over to the wicked appetites of cruel persecutors. Howbeit, as the frute of these trees is best knowne to God alone, so is it justified and approved by him, whatsoever the folishe wisdome of the natural man shal judge in the contrary. For the Prophet Esai pronounceth, "that the just perisheth,

The deathe of the Martyrs increaseth the rage and malice of the Reprobat against Christ Jesus, and for a tyme troubleth the hartes of the Elect.

Esai 57.

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(so dothe it appere to man's judgement,) and yet that no man putteth it in harte," that is, dothe earnestly consider it, that "the men of mercie are taken awaye," and the worlde nevertheles dothe rejoyce and triumphe. But the Holy Ghost assigneth an other cause; "that the just is taken away before that his eies beholde greater miseries;" that he entreth into his peace before that God's vengeance beginne to be powred forthe upon the prowde and disobedient: and so doth their frute abyde and continue, not onely to their perpetual joye, but also to the comfort and consolation of the afflicted that suffer for righteousness sake, even to the ende. For the same God that of mercie had respect to their infirmitie, and so dyd prevent the daungers that might have apprehended them, provided also for his Churche aboune the expectation of mortal man, wil not despise the sobbes of his afflicted now in these most wretched and most wicked dayes. But of these trees and of their frute I cease at this tyme farther to speake; because that the dolorous estate of many that be alyve causethe me some tymes to give thankes unto God for the happie deliverance of suche as constantly departed in the Lorde, whether it was by persecution of tyrantes or by natural deathe.

The frute and benefite of deathe unto the just. Esai 57.

Consider with me, deare Brethern, (I speake to you of Newcastle and Barwike,) your miserable estate and most dolorous condition. Your profession dyd once declare before men, that ye were branches planted and ingrafted in Christ Jesus, whose holy Gospel (which is the powre of God to the salvation of all that beleve it) ye appeared to have receaved with all reverence and gladness. The displeasure of your natural and carnal frendes, who then were ennemies to Christ Jesus and to his eternal veritie, some of you dyd paciently beare. Ye feared not to go before statutes and lawes, yea, openly and solemnedly you dyd professe, by receiving the sacramentes, not as man had appointed, but as Christ Jesus the wisdome of God the Father had institute, to be subject in all thinges concerning religion to his yoke alone, to acknowledg and avouche him before the

The outwarde profession of Newcastle and Barwike in the tyme of the Gospel. Rom. 1.

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world to be your onely Lawegyver, soveraigne Prince, and onely Saviour. Thus, I say, ye appeared at that tyme to have bene the delicate plantes of the Eternal, the workemanship of his owne handes, and the trees that in season and tyme shulde have produced good frute in abundance. But oh, alas! howe are ye changed! how are ye corrupted! whitherunto are ye fallen! and how have ye deceived the expectation of those that then dyd labour in plantinge and watering yow, and now do sobbe unto God for your ingratitude, callinge with teares unto his mercie for your conversion, and that unfayned repentance may sodenly appeare in yow! O, miserable change! that ye who were once fervent professors of Christ Jesus, and of his Gospel, shulde now be subjectes to Antichrist, gevinge obedience to his false and decevable doctrine. O, grevous fall! and more then grevous! that from the dignitie of the sones of God (which prerogative ye had by grace and not by nature) ye are become slaves to Satan, justifiing by your presence most abominable Idolatrye. Yf ye see not the daunger whiche hereupon dependeth, ye are more then blynd; and if ye see it, and studye not with all diligence to avoyd it, ye are not onely folishe, but altogether bewitched and enraged. God dyd not call you frome darkenes to light, he dyd not send his Sonne Christ Jesus unto you, contemning and refusinge many thousandes, more noble, more wise, more ancient, and more puissant then ye are or ever were; God (I say) dyd not so familiarely communicate himself with you, in his onely beloved Sonne Christ Jesus, to the ende that ye at your pleasure and appetite, or for the feare of worldly men, for losing of goods or corporal lyfe, shulde return to darknes, and that ye shulde refuse to serve that soveraing Prince in the day of his battaile, before whome all knees shal bowe. But contrary wise, that according as ye were called to the participation of light, that so constantly ye shuld walke in the same; that as ye were appointed souldyers to fight against Sathan the prince of this worlde, and against his progenie, ennemies to Christ Jesus,

Philip. 2.

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so shulde ye boldly abyde in the rancke in which God had placed yow: being farther moste certenly persuaded, that he that flieth the battail and denieth Christ Jesus before men, shalbe denyed before his heavenly Father; yea, also, "that suche as refuse not father, mother, sister, and brother, are not worthy of him;" and, moreover, that suche as do not boldly confesse him before this wicked generation, shal never be confessed to appertayne to him, nor to the glorie of his kingdome, when he shalbe accompanied with his angels. Which thinges I thoght once had bene so depely grafted in your hartes, that albeit angels frome heaven shulde have persuaded you to the contrary, that ye shulde have holden them accursed; and so in that behalfe have rejected their persuasion and doctrine as a poison most pestilent, which is death and damnation to all that receive it. For so dyd ye once professe, and suche was my hope of you, that so in hart you had determined: for Christ Jesus was not preached amongst yow without his crosse. Matt. 10.

The Gospel of Christ hath ever the crosse following.

Howe oft hath it bene bett in your eares, "that the servant can not be above the Lord;" "that the members must be conformed to the Head;" "that by many tribulations we must enter into the kingdome of God;" "that all that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution;" and that partly because Sathan, the prince of this worlde, can never be so brydeled during this battayle but that he will strive to recover strength; and partly, because that synne remayneth in us, he is permitted to sting with his venomous tayle when his head is brused. Was not this doctrine common unto you? Yea, have ye not heard ofter then once, that your eyes shuld see Christ Jesus persecuted in his pore membres? that his veritie shulde be oppugned? that superstition, lyes, and idolatrie, shuld prevayle and have the upper hand? that the kingdome of heaven, the true preaching of his Evangil, shuld be taken from you for the ingratitude and stubburnes of men, who more delyted in darkenes then in light? None of these things at that tyme dyd appeare strange unto you, neither dyd they discorage you; Matth. 10. John 13. Act. 14. 2 Tim. 3.

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but ye semed (being admonished what daunger it was to refuse Christ Jesus) most steadfastly to cleave to the veritie, notwithstanding that the whole world shuld have refused the same.

How oft have ye assisted to Baptisme? How oft have ye bene partakers of the Lord's Table, prepared, used, and ministred in all simplicitie, not as man had devised, neither as the King's procedinges dyd alowe, but as Christ Jesus dyd institute, and as it is evident that Sainct Paule dyd practise? These two Sacraments, seales of Christ's Evangil, ye communly used; Baptisme for your children, and the Table of the Lorde to your owne comforte, and for the open confession of your religion. And so oft, I say, deare Brethern, dyd ye witnesse before men, and sweare before God, that ye woulde dye with Christ Jesus, to the end that ye might lyve by him; that ye would refuse the doctrine of men and the participation of all idolatrie, and wolde constantly stand and stick fast to that religion which then ye professed and approved. But O, alasse! what miserable ruins hathe this suddaine and short storme made of that building that was begon amongst yow! The windes have blowne, and the flodes are come, and the walles are fallen in one heape (God graunt that the foundation abyde!): the fyer is come, but in you, alasse! is neither founde golde, silver, nor precious stone, but all is brent, and all is consumed; so that if I shal judge the frute of my pore labors amongst you by myne owne judgement, reason, or apprehension, I shulde judge myselfe and my labors accursed of God, for that I see no better successe. O consider, deare Brethern, what grief it is, that in suche a multitude none shal be founde faithful, none constant, none bolde in the cause of the Lorde Jesus, whome so boldlye before they had professed.

In the tyme of persecution and tryal, not one was found faithful and constant.

God is witnesse, and I refuse not your owne judgmentes, how simplye and uprightly I conversed and walked amongst you: thogh in his presence I was and am nothing but a masse of corruption, rebellion, and hypocrisie; yet as concerning yow

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and the doctrine taught amongst yow, as then I walked, so nowe do I write in the presence of Him who onely knoweth, and shal reveale the secretes of all hartes, that neither for feare dyd I spare to speake the simple truthe unto you; neither for hope of worldly promotion, dignitie, or honour, dyd I willingly adulterate any parte of God's Scriptures, whether it were in exposition, in preaching, contention, or writing; but that simply and plainly, as it pleased the merciful goodnes of my God to give unto me the utterance, understanding, and spirite, I dyd distribute the bread of lyfe (I meane God's most holy Worde) as of Christ Jesus I had received it. I soght neither preheminence, glorie, nor riches; my honour was, that Christ Jesus shuld reigne; my glorie, that the light of his truthe shulde shyne in you; and my greatest riches, that in the same ye shuld be constant. Let him amongst you that is farthest declined, convict me if he can, if that ever he dyd perceyve me, by craftie or unlawfull means, to seke the substance or riches of any; yea, if I have not refused that which by diverse hathe bene offred, and that also by the commone opinion might lawfully have bene receyved.

This rule ought of all Preachers to be observed.

Behold wherein the Preachers of Christ shulde rejoyce.

But to what purpose is this recited? Is it to brag of mine owne justice, or yet to defende mine owne innocencie? Not so, deare Bretherne, not so, (for what I acknowledge myself to be before God, I have already confessed,) but to let you understand, that if I have this testimonie of conscience as concerning my office, ministrie, and doctrine, and am notwithstanding wounded almost to the deathe, for that my labors have not better succeded; what oght to be your feare, lamentacion, and trembling? I feare that God hathe cursed me, because he hathe not better blessed my labors amongst you; and yet in that behalf have I the lot and sort commune with the most part of God's true Prophetes, and the condition like with Sainct Paul, to comfort me in my greatest desperation. For Helias dyd thinke, that he alone amongst the Israelites was left alyve truely to worship God. And Paul dyd complayne

If he that is innocent hath this feare, howe oght the offenders te tremble?

3 Kin. 19.

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that all that were in Asia had left him. He dyd see in his owne dayes his beloved Church of Gallacia bewitched by false teachers; and also that most notable Congregation of Corinthus, shortly after his departure frome the same, he sawe devided in sectes, corrupted in lyfe, given to debate, contencion, and strife, yea, to be infected withe most pestilent heresie; I meane with the deniall of the resurrection of the deade. These and other like examples teach us howe God's most true and paynefull servantes have bene frustrate of their expectation, and so humbled before God; whose frutes I have to pul, and as it were by violence to drawe me from the bothome of hell, to the whiche some tymes I sinke for remembrance of your fall, and for my other offences against God committed. But these examples can not so remedy my wounde, but that frome tyme to tyme I fele the pricke of God's hevy displeasure. And ought you then to lyve voyde of all feare, as men that had nothing offended? My conscience dothe neither accuse me, that amongst you was I a false prophete, mercenary nor idle person, and yet I quake, I feare and tremble, remembring your horrible fall; and ought yow to rest, be quyet, and rejoyce, against whome God's vengeance is so plainly pronounced? For if no realme, no nation, citie, nor particular person, trayterously declinyng from God, and obstinately remaining in rebellion after the truthe knowne and professed, hathe escaped God's vengeance, flatter not yourselfes as that your treason and rebellion shulde or can be oversene by his justice, which from the beginning ys one, and to the ende shal remayne inviolable.

2 Tim. 3.

Repentance is the meane to finde mercie.

Many have offended, and upon repentance have obteyned mercie and grace; but I demand and aske, who contemning mercie offred, and, as the Apostle speaketh, dispising the lenitie and long suffering of God, hath in the ende escaped vengeance! Your treasonable fall is manifest, but the signes of your repentance do not yet appere; and therfore, I saye, flatter not yourselves, as that ye had made paction with death, with hell and destruction, as the Prophet Esai accuseth those of his tyme,

Esai 28.

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who disdainfully dyd answer when he called them to sackcloth and asshes; that is, to shewe forth the tokens of true repentance and conversion unto God. In despit (I saye) they answered, "Let the counsel of the Holy One of Israel comme: in the meanetyme, let us eate and drinke, and make merry dayes, for to-morrowe we shal dye, if the wordes of these bablers (so were God's servants termed) be true, and take effect. But we are out of danger: destruction nor death shal not apprehende us. The accomplishment of their visions are far of: Jerusalem is the pott, and we are the flesh;" meaning therby that they wold dye and lyve in their native country. But the Prophets boldlye against such prowde contempt dyd affirme, "That their leage and convenant made (as they supposed) with death and vastacion shulde be dissolved and broken." For the floods of vengeance shulde carry them to perdition, straungers shulde inherite their lande, and they shulde dye in miserable bondage, in a land polluted with all idolatrie, because they refused to serve the Lord their God in the land which he had given to them in possession, and because they woulde neither gyve reverence nor credit to his servantes the Prophets, whome from tyme to tyme he sent unto them. And farther, the Prophetes dyd affirme that those pore afflicted servantes of God, who cruelly were murthered in their presence by those cruel persecutors that then bare dominion in tyrannie, were onely they amongst the Israelites that shulde dye with honor in their owne countrie. As for the rest, they shulde either be led captives, or els dye by hunger, pestilence, or sword, and so leave their names in execration and contempt to the posterities folowing.

Esai 5. Esai 22. Esai 28. Ezech. 11.

Beware, deare Bretherne, that ye be not like to these men in stubburnes, in continuance of sin, and in contempt of grace. Ye have declined, yea, and trayterously fallen backe frome God, and frome his veritie once professed as they dyd; but beware (I say) that ye defend not your impietie, that ye contemne not the threatnings of God, promising to yourselves felicitie and

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life, when He by his Worde and holy Prophetes pronouncethe against you woe, deathe, and severe judgement. For then be you most assured that ye shal not escape the irrevocable sentence of God once pronounced by the mouthe of Jeremie, in
Jere. 5. these wordes: "Every nation like unto this shal I judge, saithe the Eternal." Then shal you fele in the ende, howe horrible and feareful it is to fall in the handes of the Omnipotent. Then shal ye grope and wander to and fro seking remedy, but shal finde none; ye shalbe like blinde men in extreme darkenes, ye shal stumble, ye shal fal, ye shal crye and rore for anguishe, but none shalbe able to releave your miseries: all creatures shalbe ennemies unto you, because you have despised the goodnes and mercie of Him who so lovinglye hathe intreated you; first, in openinge unto you the true knowledge of himself, and nowe, after your horrible defection, so mercifully callinge you to repentance agayne. O, call to mynde, deare Bretherne,
Luk. 13. that fearefull sentence pronounced against that fig tree which dyd occupie the grounde, but was unfrutefull. The request and earnest supplication of the gardiner coulde obteyne no more, but that he might dig abowte her, and laye donge to the rootes therof the space of one yere; but then if it produced no frute, he was compelled to give place by his owne sentence to the wisdome and justice of his lorde, who would not suffer suche an unprofitable tree to occupie place in his chosen and delectable garden or vineyarde. This was not spoken by Christ, nor ment (deare Bretherne) of deade and insensible trees, but under the similitude most lively is painted and set forthe what shalbe the end of those that by vocation and external profes-
John 15. sion are planted in the Churche of God, and so made members of Christ Jesus, who is the verie vynestocke; and such as do professe him are called branches grafted in him. This similitude (I say) dothe expresse what shalbe the end of such as bring not forth frute in him; to wit, they shalbe cut of the stocke, whome by baronness they dishonor; they shal wither and drye, and so be cast on the fyer to burne for ever.

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I have no pleasure (God is witnesse) to threaten you, muche lesse to pronounce plagues and God's severe judgementes against you, but seing and considering your horrible defection frome God, and frome his veritie knowne and professed, I dar not cease to exhort you to repentance. For althogh I shulde kepe silence, yet shulde stones accuse your unthankefulnes. Yf I shulde flatter you, and speake according to your appetites, saying, 'Alas! we can not redress the iniquitie of these tymes, we have no pleasure in idolatrie, we are sorye that the blood of innocents is shed in our lande; we woulde be content that true religion shulde be used; but wicked men now beare dominion, and therfore we must serve and obey the tyme: when God shal please to restore his truth, we wilbe gladd of it, but in the mean tyme, we must obey the lawes set forthe by our superiours: God knoweth our hartes, and we trust he wilbe merciful unto us.' Yf on this maner (I say) I shulde flatter you, laying pillowes under your heades, who alredy do slepe in a deadly securitie, shulde ye therfore escape God's vengeance? No, no, deare Brethern; but by suche meanes be you assured that God's indignation is more kindeled, both against the people and the Prophet. For when all are conjured against his truthe, then must his juste judgementes revenge his owne cause; and therfore, Brethern, suffer the worde of exhortation; suffer it, I say, withe trembling and feare, not esteming the threatninges pronounced against the disobedient forthe of the boke of God to be voices sparced in the ayre, which sodenly shal evanishe and take no effect. God forbyd that such cogitations remayne and prevaile in your hartes, for then have ye refused God, with whome ye can have no societie except ye imbrace and receive his Worde; whiche threatneth no lesse damnation, deathe, shame, and destruction to prowd contemners and obstinat refusers of grace and mercy offered, then that it dothe promesse salvation, lyfe, honor, and immortalitie to the penitent synner, and unto such as unfaynedly mourne for their haynous offences against God committed. It behoveth you,

No vayne excuses or flatterie of the Preachers can turne awaye God's vengeance.

The threatninges of God's Prophets are effectual.

The Worde of God hath two offices.

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therefore, deare Brethern, to give this honour to your God, that the verities of his Worde be not measured by the weakenes, frailtie, or infirmitie of the instrumentes whiche most commonly he useth in publication of the same. For his ministers are men subject to infirmities, but the Worde whiche they preache is the power of God to salvation of all that beleve and obediently imbrace the same. His ministers, as they be the sonnes of men, of nature are they lyers, instable, and vayne; but his eternal Worde, whiche he putteth in their mouthes, and whereof they are made imbassadors, is of suche treuth, stabilitie, and assurance, "That albeit heaven and earth shulde evanishe and perishe, yet shal it abyde and remayne for ever;" and that in suche sorte, that the same men, who, blynded by prosperitie and carnal affections, colde not beleve God speaking by his ministers, are oft compelled in their owne bodyes, and in their posterities folowinge, to fele the stripes and susteyne the plagues whiche they contemned when they were first pronounced.

Matt. 24.

Such as wil not acknowledge God by his Worde, shal knowe him by his judgements.

Zach 1.

The Prophet Zacharie, accusing the Jewes of his tyme of negligence in reedifiing the Temple after they were delivered from the captivitie and bondage of Babylon, sayeth, "Where be your Fathers to whome the Prophetes spake, and where be the Prophetes that spake to your Fathers? Are not the one and the other deade? But my wordes and statutes (saithe the Eternal), which I have commanded to my servantes the Prophetes, have not they apprehended your Fathers? insomuche that they converted and said, As the Lord of Hosts hath determined to do unto us accordyng to our waies, and according to our imaginations, so hath he done." By which question and wordes the Prophet evidently affirmeth that which before I have said, to witt, that neither the mercie of God promised to the penitent, neither the severe punishementes pronounced against the stubborne and inobedient, ought to be measured by the weakenes and condition of the messenger whome God sendeth; but that whatsoever they bring forthe of God's boke against iniquetie

The Worde is not to be measured by the messinger, but by the powre of God that sendeth it.

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and syn, and chiefly against idolatrie (which seperateth man altogether from God), shalbe holden so constant and so true, as thogh God frome the heaven had given witnesse to the same by the presence of his owne Majestie.

The men to whome Zacharie dyd speake had never sene Esai the Prophet; yea, Esai himself was dead long before his prophecie toke full effect. Notwithstanding, as their fathers felt the plagues which he pronounced against them, and against that famous citie Jerusalem for the bloodshede and idolatrie in the same committed; so were the eies of their children, to whome Zacharie speaketh, witnesses that God's wrath was in perfection powered forthe upon their fathers; which also dyd abide upon them, even unto that day that the Prophet dyd admonishe them. For they sawe Jerusalem lie desolate and waste as the Caldeies had left it; they sawe the ruines and miserable stones overcovered with powder of that bewtifull and holy temple of God, which by Salomon was builded. They farther felt themselves in povertie and bondage of strangers. For albeyt they had obteyned libertie to returne to their countrie, yet perceyved they their condition to be litle amended. Their ennemies were more strong then they, even in their owne land. Their worke was impeaded, and they dyd lyve in greater feare then those which stil remayned in dispertion. And thus, I saie, were bothe their fathers and they compelled to confesse in the ende, that the wordes of the Prophetes were no vayne threatnings. For the fathers dyd fele in a strange countrie the heavie yoke of bondage the space of 70 yeres, after that the bodies of many thowsandes had fallen upon the edge of the sworde, and the eies of the children dyd see the force and vehemencie of God's wrath once kyndled.

1 Esd. 3.
2 Esd. 4.
2 Nehe. 4.

Of one thing be assured, deare Brethern, that the self same God who then spake by his Prophets, dothe now speake to you by his Messingers, how contemptible soever they be in your eies; and farther be assured, that in all his proprieties he remayneth immutable for ever and ever; and therefore persuade your-

The same God that spake in tymes past by his Prophetes, speaketh as effectually now by his Messingers.

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selves that what he hated in them he can not love in you, and what he punished in them he can not spare nor pardon in you. In them he hated murther, deceite, oppression, licencious lyfe, declyning from the true religion, and manifest idolatry committed and suffred in all their lande. In them he punished (and that most extremely) defence of their synnes, contempt of mercie, and persecution of his Prophetes. Yf these things be common amongst you, as, alas! they are too manifest, flatter not yourselves as that your prosperitie shulde longe contynue; no, Bretherne, but rather let the sharpe judgementes of God, all ready executed against the like offenders, put you in minde that the plagues and vengeances which are conteined in his holy lawe, and which your eares have often hearde, do presently hange over your heades; that the bloode of God's innocent children, which cruelly is shed in your lande (whereof ye are all giltie by reason of your permission and silence) dothe continually crye in the eares of our most juste God, "Howe longe shall it be, O Lord, that thowe wilt not revenge our bloode upon those that dwel in the earth?" that the teares of the widowes oppressed, of the orphelines left comfortles, of prisoners wrongefully tormented, and of the banished, who susteyne hunger and other calamities in strange contries, onely because they woulde avoyde such abhominations as amongst you are committed. Ye ought, I say, to be most assuredly persuaded, that the lamentable voices of all these have so beaten the eares of our God, and that the tears, which in anguishe they powred forthe, have so replenished and fylde the bottel which hangethe continually in the eies of the Almightie, that he hath sworne by his owne holynes, that he wil arise in his hote fury, that he wil revenge their cause (and that spedely), and that he wil also confounde his ennemies, the persecuters of his Churche, as fyer consumeth stubble and strawe.

None can excuse themselves of the innocent blood that kepe silence in such cruel marthers.

Apo. 6.

No tyme wil I appoint to these the judgmentes of our most just God; but this I feare not to affirme, in the assurance of his Spirite who of mercie hath called me to be a minister of

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his Worde and veritie, that as ye have harde the dayes of these present dolors forespoken, when ye could feare no suche daungers to come: For Barwike and Newcastle, be you both witnesses how oft and how plainly ye have hard affirmed, that the light which the most part hated (or at least dyd not followe), shulde be taken from you, and that ye for your unthankefulnes shulde be left in uttermost darkenes to your destruction; that strangers shulde beare rule over you; and that ye shulde of all nations be most miserable and accursed of God; because ye dyd not know the tyme of your merciful visitation. Howe oft have ye heard proclamed in your eares, O England, if thou dydest knowe the honour wherunto this day thowe art called, yf thou dydest consider the graces and benefits of God this day offred unto thee, thou shuldest be most happie and most blessed of all realmes! For within thy land hath God erected his sanctuarie, builded his temple, and chosen his habitation and dwelling-place. From amongst you hathe God, by the power of his Worde, driven out devilles, superstition, and idolatrie; but, alas! for thy unthankfulnes thy God wil departe from thee; he wil give thee over agayne to the bondage of Sathan. In lyes thou delitest, and therefore shal the veritie be taken from thee. Which sentences and threatnings, albeyt then yee feared not, yet dare ye not denie in God's presence, howsoever ye dissemble in the face of the wicked world, but that amongst you spake the Spirit of truthe, how weake that ever the instrument was whome it pleased his wisdome to use for your advertisement, as your eies do this day beholde the accomplishement and execution of one part of God's most just judgementes. For the veritie, in which a smal nombre dyd delyte, is taken from you, and idolatrie, which many gaped for, is erected, to your confusion and shame. God hath removed the presence of his glorie from you, and the Devill hath taken his full possession. As this part (I saye) of God's judgementes, which before were pronounced, is executed in your eies, so shal some of you that this day beholde the tyrannie that is used, mainteyned,

Barwike, Newcastel.

England was once made the sanctuary of God, which is a title most honorable and blessed.

Because the multitude delyteth rather in lies then in truthe, therefore fall they suddainly to errors.

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and permitted amongst you, likewise beholde the terrible plagues and severe judgements of God powred forthe in full perfection, not onely upon the cruel murtherers, but also upon suche as by silence and flattery consent to their impietie. Yf ye be not more then blynde, ye may evidently see the potent hande of Gode displayde and stretched out against you. Dothe not the suddayne and miserable fall of Calice, sometymes called the Key of Englande, yea, and the open dore into forrayne countreys, move you to consider what is God's powere, and how easie it is to him to overthrow all the pryde of man in one moment? Yf it move not others, yet let it move thee, O Barwike! She was thy syster, and your condition was one, except that as in strength, order, and civil pollicie, thou wast nothinge comparable. So in theft, debate, hatred, and all iniquitie, thou didest farr surmount her; and yet she hathe dronken the cuppe of God's vengeance, because that being admonished she dyd not repent: and shal or canst thou escape the same, if thou continue as thou hast begun? No, albeyt man and angell woulde promesse the assurance, thy pryde shalbe beaten doune to hell, thy treasonable defection from God shalbe punished, as before hathe bene pronounced in thyne eares, except that by spedy repentance thou prevent God's judgementes. And therefore, dear Bretherne, if that ye intende or thinke to escape God's vengeance, his heavy hande and hote displeasure, delaye no tyme to returne unto him; call upon him whyle he is nie, seke him unfeynedly whyle he is to be founde; harden not your hartes when he rebukethe your unthankfulnes. Now he offerethe himself unto yow; now he is neare; now he is to be founde, whyle he callethe you to repentance by his Messingers and Worde. Which occasion and opportunitie if ye omit, as God's justice shall shine in your punishement and just condemnation, so shall it be that you howle and crye for anguishe and payne, and yet shal fynde neither counsel nor comfort; for so dothe God often revenge the contempt of his graces offred.

The plagues of God shall apprehend even such as by silence and flattery consent to the murther of his Saincten.

Calice, called the Key of England.

Barwike, let the suddayne fall of thy sister move thee to repentance.

Note.

Psal. 32.

Jere. 11.

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Prowde Esau, after he had sold his birth-right, and had confirmed the bargan with a solemned othe, dyd eate and drinke, regardyng nothing his owne folishenes; neither rightly dyd he esteme (for the tyme) the honor and dignitie which he had lost. But after, when he perceyved that his father (even against his promesse and determined purpose) wolde stil blesse Jacob, he frett, he fumed, he accused Jacob; he reasoned with his father, he begged but one blessing, and that with tears, with roringe and lamentable cries; but all was in vayne, he found no place of repentance. The dore of mercie was shit up by his former contempt; he howled and cryed, but not for his syn and former unthankefulnes; he begged blessing, but his eie being fixed upon this present world, he remayned accursed before God, burning in hatred, and imagining murther and the death of his brother, whome God had honored with his spiritual benediction. This historie (as by the Apostle we are taught) is not written for Esau onely, but for ensample and admonition to all those that prefer the prophane and contemptible pleasures of this earth to the benediction and inheritance promised to Abraham and unto his seade. Gene. 27.

All are Esau's children that prefer earthly pleasures to spiritual blessings.

Enter in judgement with yourselves, deare Bretherne, and consider earnestly what exchange ye have made. Ye have refused and renied God the Father and his deare Sonne Christ Jesus, and so the whole joye and comfort of his kingdome; ye have quit the portion of your inheritance, and have despised the benediction promised to suche as shulde abyde in the truethe to the ende. And what reward have ye receyved? A measse of pottage, yea, much lesse, if the matter shalbe wel considered. For the favour of your Quene accursed by God, the frendshipe of the Counsel destitute of wisdome, and your wretched and miserable lyves, compared with the thinges which ye have lost, are much inferiour to the pottage for the which Esau solde his birth-right. For his appetites and lustes were saciat for a tyme, but I am assured that your bellies, for the whiche ye have refused God, are more emptie then they were

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before. Now are ye compelled to fede the proude Spanyard, bothe within and without your contry. Taxe followeth taxe, and one exaction calleth for another. The landes and inheritances must pay at pleasure of the Parlament, the movable goodes can not escape valuation and censure, where oppression and extorsion beare rule and dominion. These are the great benefites which of Jesabel ye have receyved, for refusinge of God, and bowing at her commandement to Baal. But let it be that you had receyved, since your revolt and falling from God, the greatest riches, the greatest honor, the greatest victorie, and the most established rest, that ever nation had since the begynning; yet had ye changed your former glorie for a mease of pottage. For do ye not know that all these things shal evanish as a dream in the night season? And as concernyng the preservation and safetie of your lyves, for the which ye have refused God, who only is the author of life, the day shal shortly come when ye shal prove this sentence of Christ Jesus to be true in experience, "That whosoever to kepe or find his life denyeth Christ Jesus before men, shal lose his life bothe corporal and eternal." For as your Jesabel can nothinge without the wil and permission of Him who is omnipotent, so can neither she nor you reteine nor holde the breathe in her nor your moste frayle bodies, when that most potent Lord shal saye, "Returne to dust, O ye unthankful sonnes of mortal men."

The frutes of Jesabel's reign.

Matth. 10.

To take away life is onely in the power of God that gave it.

Seing it is so (deare Bretherne) that God's judgementes ye can not escape, humble yourselves be tymes, before that his vengeance be armed to your destruction. Yf ye continue in this deadlie securitie, regarding nothing what honour ye have lost, it shalbe too late for you to howle and crye, when youre blessing shal in your own eares be given to others. Repent therefore betymes, and as ye have openly declined from God by refusal of his veritie, so let your conversion be manifest, by removynge from amongst you all kinde of idolatrie. This, I knowe, appeareth to you so impossible to be performed, that

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ye judge me rather to mock you then to exhort you to repentance by this meanes. But, deare Bretherne, consider with me, that the thinges which to man seme most impossible, are easie to our God to bring to passe, if we wil refuse ourselves, and onely give obedience to his commandementes. Impossible it appeared to the afflicted children of Israel, that they coulde be delivered from the tyrannie of Phorao, and from the bondage of the Egyptians. And in verie dede their yoke was augmented and their burthens made more grevous, many dayes after they had at Moses' commandement asked libertie to make sacrifice to the living God. But were they dispised or frustrate of their expectation in the end? or, dyd suche as suppressed them, or assisted their King in persecution of God's people, escape vengeance? We knowe the contrarie. The hand of our God is no more feble now then it was then; his good wil and love remayneth one at all tymes towarde such as depend upon him. Acknowledge then your synnes, mourne for your unthankefulnes, absteyne from idolatrie, call boldely that the libertie of Christ Jesus, of his holy Gospel preached, may be restored unto you; consent not by your silence to the shedding of the blood of innocentes, whiche for the testimonie of Christes trueth is shed amongst you in great abundance; but boldly beare witnes that injurie is done unto them; and so shall you knowe shortly in experience, that God is no vayne promiser of support to such as shalbe injustly oppressed, especially for the cause of his Evangil. But, alas! deare Brethern, (I speak to you, of whose boldenes I once rejoysed, and for whose fall, God knoweth, I now mourne,) if ye shal continue in rebellion against God, because ye dare not displease men, as ye shal not escape damnation eternal, so shal ye fele in your owne bodies, yea, the bodies of your posteritie after you shal feele, that his Prophetes have not vaynely threatned bondage and thraldom against the inobedient. And be you assured, that by mainteyning of idolatrie you shal never attein to that quietnes which ye seke in this earthe, but contrarywise God

God easily bringethe to passe that which to man's reason is impossible.

God's power is not diminished.

Beholde the meanes to atteyne God's favor and mercie.

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God many tymes plageth even by such as men seke to please.

shall plague yow, even by those whome ye studie to please. Therfore, in few wordes conclude, yf ye intende to escape God's severe judgementes, and if ye loke to find him favorable either to yow or yet to your posteritie, sleape no longer in your syn; consider from what honour you are fallen, what daunger hangeth over your heades; remember how fearful and horrible it is to have God your ennemie, and in depe consideration thereof, call for mercie, studie unfaynedly to rise agayne, professe the trueth which ye have denyed, remove to your power iniquitie frome amongste yow, and abstayne in your bodies from idolatrie committed and maynteyned by your wicked rulers. And in so doing, as ye shal dayly increase in knowledge and strength, so shal ye finde grace, whiche ye have not deserved, and that by the meanes of our Lorde Jesus Christ; whose Omnipotent Spirit so illuminate your senses and understandinge, that clearly ye may see what is the riches of that glorie which God hath prepared for such as unfaynedly love him, and how horrible are the tormentes whiche the slaves of Satan (I meane idolaters, and such as for feare refuse the knowne veritie) shal suffer with the Devil, and with his angels, without end.

Farther of my mynde concerning your duties in these most dolorous dayes, ye may understande by my APPELLATION,[1] and by myne ADMONITION to the Nobilitie and Communaltie of Scotland.[2] God graunt yow his Holy Spirit rightly to consider and boldly to folowe the waye which leadeth to lyfe everlasting. Amen.

From Geneva, the x. of Novembre M.D.LVIII.

The dayes are so wicked, that I dare make special commendations to no man. Your Brother with troubled hart,

JOHN KNOX.

[1] His Appelation, republished in vol. iv. p. 461-520.

[2] His Admonition, or Letter to the Communality of Scotland, originally conjoined with his Appelation, is also contained in vol. iv. p. 521-538.

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A BRIEF EXHORTATION

TO ENGLAND,

FOR THE SPEEDY EMBRACING

OF THE GOSPEL.

M.D.LVIII.

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In June 1558, or within little more than eight months after the atrocious persecution which called forth "The Apology of the Christians at Paris," contained in the previous volume of Knox's works, a similar tragedy, although accompanied with less external violence, and on a more limited scale as to numbers, was enacted at Islington, in the neighbourhood of London.

Along with the following "Brief Exhortation," Knox subjoins a list of the Names of the English Martyrs during the reign of Queen Mary. As some of these names appear to have been mistaken, the list has been compared with Foxe, and the variations added in the foot notes. It may seem superfluous to add, that full information, including the examinations and sufferings of the English Martyrs specified at the end of this Epistle, afterwards appeared in Foxe's great work, "The Actes and Monuments." The persons alluded to as having been apprehended at Islington, were nearly the last victims in this sad Catalogue, and a brief notice of their case may be given in this place.

Foxe entitles his account, "The Order and Occasion of taking certaine godly Men and Women praying together in the fields about Islington."[1] It appears that, in the morning of May-day 1558, there had assembled secretly "for prayer about forty men and women, who were virtuously occupied in the meditation of God's holy Word," when, upon information given, they were, without resistance, apprehended by the constable and a few assistants, and twenty-seven of their number carried before Sir Roger Cholmley, of whom twenty-two were consigned to the prison of Newgate. There they remained several

[1] Actes and Monuments, &c., edit. 1576, vol. ii. p. 1930; edit. 1839, vol. viii. p. 468.

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weeks before they were examined; two of them, Matthew Wythers and T. Taylor, having died in prison in Whitsun week. Other seven were at length brought before Bishop Bonner on the 14th of June, and burnt in Smithfield on the 27th. Their names were, Pond, Eastland, Southam, Ricarby, Floyd, Holyday, and Holland. Of the thirteen who still remained in Newgate, six were selected to share the same fate, but their sentence was delayed till the 11th of July. These six, Mills, Cotton, Dynes, Wight, Slade, and Pikes, suffered at Brentford, seven miles from London, on the 14th of that month. The rest escaped, "albeit very hardly, and some of them not without *scourging by the hands of the Bishop*."

In the older editions of Foxe's work, is contained a large and spirited wood-cut, as "The ryght picture and true counterfeyt of Boner, and his crueltye in scourgynge of Goddes Sanctes in his orcharde at Fulham." Stephen Cotton, one of these martyrs, in a letter written to his brother, "From the Coalhouse," says, "I have been twice beaten, and threatened to be beaten again, *by the Bishop himself*." At this time, the prisoners were under his custody; and the truth of Foxe's statements is fully confirmed by an original letter of Bishop Bonner, apparently addressed to Cardinal Pole, then Archbishop of Canterbury. He says:—

"Further may it please your Grace, concerning these obstinate Heretikes that doe remayne in my house, pestering the same, and doyng moche hurte many wayes, some order may be taken with theym; and in myne opinion, as I shewed your Grace and my Lord Chancelor, it should doo well to have theym brent in Hammersmythe, a myle from my house here; for then can I giff sentence agaynst theym here, in the parish churche, very quietly and without tumult; and having the Shireff present, as I can have hym, he without busynes or stirre [can] put theym to execution in the saide place, when otherwise the thinge [will need a] day in Paules, and with moor comberance then now it nedeth. And [so mo]st humblie I

take my leave of your Grace, beseeching the same [that I may] be advertised with spede of your pleasure. Scribled in haste [this . . . day of] July 1558. Your Graces moost humble bedesman and servant, EDMOND LONDON."[1]

Foxe has preserved a similar letter from Bonner to Cardinal Pole. It is dated at Fulham, postridie Nativitatis 1556, and relates to 22 prisoners sent from Colchester to London, who had been brought through Cheapside in the forenoon, attended by a thousand people, instead of bringing them quietly to prison early in the morning.[2]

Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in his "Notes of Queen Maries reign," printed in Murdin's collection of "Burghley State Papers," p. 746, has the following entries, containing a brief summary of the persons who suffered on account of religion:—

"1556, 27th June. Three persons burnt at Stratfurd at one fire; and in the compass of the yere were burnt above eighty persons, whereof many were maydens.

"1557. In this yere were borned about London above sixty-four, wherof twenty were women.

"1558. In June, now burning in Smythfield seven at one fyer.

"Anno 6to Mariæ (1558), July. Braynford six at one fyer.

[1] This letter was first printed in the Athenæum, Oct. 27, 1855, p. 1243, from the original, in one of the vols. of State Papers bequeathed by William Petyt, Keeper of the Records of the Tower, to the Library of the Inner-Temple. In communicating a copy of the letter (which is somewhat mutilated), the writer, signed B., after explaining the subjects to which it relates, calls attention to the mode in which Bonner recommends, in "the most careless, off-hand way imaginable, as if the Bishop were proposing some arrangement connected with a party of pleasure, that he should have authority to get rid of the poor wretches, by consigning them to the flames at Hammersmith, a little secluded village a mile from his house at Fulham." It is added, that the Bishop did not exactly obtain his request, as the six prisoners alluded to were duly taken to St Paul's, on the 11th July, when they were condemned in the presence of Sir Edward Hastings and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, two officers of the Queen's household, and consigned to the flames at Brentford on the 14th July 1558.

[2] Acts and Monuments, edit. 1576, p. 1863; edit. 1839, vol. viii. p. 307.

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"Queen Mary reigned five years, five months, and twenty-two days."

The death of Queen Mary, on the 17th of November 1558, put a termination to such proceedings in England. But her husband, Philip of Spain, who had returned to his own dominions, fully resolved to prevent the spread of heresy, gave his sanction to the most relentless proceedings; and *Autos de Fé* were witnessed in the chief towns of Spain. How completely he succeeded in his wishes by means of the Holy Inquisition, need not to be related; but the result of such persecutions may be stated in the eloquent words of the historian of his reign:—

"But the storm of persecution (says Mr Prescott) fell as heavily on the Spanish Protestants as it did on the Albigenses in the thirteenth century, blighting every living thing, so that no germ remained for future harvests. Spain might now boast that the stain of heresy no longer defiled the hem of her garment. But at what a price was this purchased! Not merely by the lives and fortunes of a few thousands of the existing generation, but by the disastrous consequences entailed for ever on the country. Folded under the dark wing of the Inquisition, Spain was shut out from the light which in the sixteenth century broke over the rest of Europe, stimulating the nations to greater enterprises in every department of knowledge."[1]

From the fatal consequences of such a lamentable state, England was saved by the accession of Queen Elizabeth.

[1] Prescott's History of the Reign of Philip the Second, vol. i. p. 361.

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A BRIEF EXHORTATION TO ENGLAND FOR THE SPEDIE IMbraſing of Chriſts Goſpel heretofore by the tyrannie of Marie ſuppreſſed & baniſhed.

* *
*

HEBR. CHAP. VI.

The earth, which drinketh in the raine, that oft cometh vpō it, & bringeth forthe herbes meet for thē that dreſſe it, receaveth bleſſing of God: but that ground, which beareth thorns and briers, is reproued & is nie vnto curſing, whoſe end is to be burned.

AT GENEVA.
M.D.LIX.

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This Exhortation commences on p. 55 of the little volume already described at p. 474; and is followed by the Names of the Martyrs in England.

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To the Realme of England, and to all estates within the same, John Knox wisheth true repentance to be gyven from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Spirit of wisdome, discretion, and true understanding.

After that I had somewhat considered, what from the beginning have bene the great mercies of God towardes his afflicted people, and what also have bene his severe judgementes executed against suche as, either preferring darknes to light, dyd followe the devises and inventions of men; either that enraged by the malice of Satan, have declared themselves open ennemies to God and to his veritie reveled; I thoght it my duetie, in fewe wordes, to require of thee, and that in God's name, O England in general, the same repentance and true conversion unto God that I have required of those to whome before particularly I wrote. For, in verie dede, when in dolour of hart I wrote this former Lettre, I neither looked, nor could beleve, that the Lord Jesus wolde so suddainly knocke at thy gate, or call upon thee in thy open stretes, offring himself to pardon thy iniquitie; yea, to enter into thy house, and so to abyde and make his habitation with thee, who so inobediently had rejected his yoke, so disdainfully had troden under fote the bloode of his testament, and so cruelly had murthered those that were sent to call thee to repentance. This thy horrible ingratitude considered, I dyd rather loke for punishementes and plagues universally to have bene powred forthe, then for mercie, by the sounde of his trumpet so suddainly to have bene offred to any within that miserable Yle. But when I dyd more depely waye, that suche is the infinite goodnes of God, and that suche be also the bright beames of his most juste judgements, that when

In delivering them out of the bondage of Egypt and captivitie of Babylon.
Jeroboam and Rehoboam, Kings of Israel and Juda, with their posterities.
As Joas and Manasses. 2 Par. 24. 4 King. 21.
Apoc. 3.
Prov. 1.
John 14.
Hebr. 10.
Luke 11, 20

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As he dyd the seed of Abraham.

soever he taketh into his protection, by the covenant of his Worde, any realme, nation, province, or citie, so that of mercie he becommeth to them conductor, teacher, protector, and father; that he never castethe of the same care and fatherly affection, which in his Worde he dothe once pronounce, until they do utterly declare themselves unworthy of his presence: when this (I say) I dyd consider and waye, I was in judgement somewhat reformed. For I finde that suche was his care and constant love to the whole sede of Abraham, (I meane of those that descended of Jacob,) that albeit in manie things they provoked him to anger, yet dyd his infinite goodnes ever finde, and make a waye by the which his mercie was sensibly felt of that people, even in their greatest extremities. For not onely dyd he ofte pardon their offences, longe kepe them in the lande which he had promised and geven to the sede of Abraham, but also he was with them in fyer and in water: yea, when they were as rotton carions, buryed, as it had bene in their graves, in Babilon, yet dyd he laye in pledge the glorie of his owne name for their deliverance; yea, and faithfully above man's expectacion dyd he performe it, for he brake downe the pride of Babilon, and so dyd open the pryson, and brake up the gates of yron which helde them in thraldome. And why so? He himselfe dothe answer, saying, "For mine owne name's sake wil I do this, and my glorie wil I gyve to none other," &c. And so this his love and fatherly care was so constant and unmoveable, that nothing coulde utterly chaunge it from the people, until his deare Sonne, Christ Jesus, dyd come of them and amongst them, to notifie and declare that soverayne felicitie promised to Abraham; I meane, that all nations shulde be blessed in his sede, which was Christ Jesus; who, comyng amongst his owne, was of them rejected, denied, refused, and shamefully put to deathe upon a crosse, betwixt two theves. And yet, so tender was God's care over them, that before their polluted and wicked handes were externally almost washed from his blood, he sent unto them the message of reconciliation,

In casting out seven nations before them, and delivering them from their oppressors.

Gen. 12, 13.
Psal. 66.
Esai 43.

Ezec. 20.
Esai 42, 43.

Esdr 1.
Nehe. 2.
Esai 14, 43.

Esai 43.

Esai 42.

Matth. 1.

Gen. 12.

John 1.
Luk. 23.

Act. 2.

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not onely to those that were at Jerusalem, but even to such as were dispersed amongst the Gentiles, as in the Acts of the Apostles is plainly witnessed. For this prerogative had ever the Jewes, that first to them were offred the glad tydinges of the kingdome, unto suche tyme as they declared themselves, by open blasphemies, continual resistance, and cruel persecution, most worthy to be deprived of that honour. This long sufferance and carefull calling of that unthankeful people, proceded from the same fountaine from the which their first vocation dyd procede and flowe; that is, from his eternal goodnes, which dyd so long fight against their malice, that all creatures must justifie God in his fearful, but yet most juste judgements, once executed and yet remaining upon that rebellious people.

Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, preached first to the Jewes. Act. 13, 14, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23.

God's fearful judgementes upon the Jewes even to this day

The same order, I see, dothe God kepe with thee, O thou happie and most unhappie England! Happy, not onely because thy God, by his own hand, hath oft delivered thee from corporal bondage of divers and strange nations, as of Saxons, Romaines, Gothes, and Danes; but especially for that, that by the power of his eternal veritie, (and that of his free grace, without thy deservyng,) he dyd of late years break and destroy the intollerable yoke of thy spiritual captivitie, and broght thee forthe as it had bene from the bottome of hel, and from the thraldome of Sathan, in which thou wast holden blynded by idolatrie and supersticion, to the feloship of his angels, and to the possession of that riche inheritance prepared to his dearest children, with Christ Jesus his Sonne. But, O unhappie, and more then unhappie, that hast declared thyself so unthankful and rebellious to so loving and so mercifull a Father, who fyrst gave thee life, when thou didest lye polluted in blood and dead in thy synne, and nowe dothe offer himself to be thy God, Governour, and Father, after that thou, most trayterously conspiring, with Sathan by solemned othe, haste renounced his veritie. O unhappie and more then unhappie art thou, (I say,) if that this thy treasonable defection, and God's loving kindnes, yet calling thee to his favours, dothe not pearce thy hart with unfayned

God's unspeakable mercies bestowed upon England.

Matt. 25.

Ezech. 16.

The shameful defection of England.

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repentance. For as this mercie and love of thy God far surmounteth the reache of all men's understanding, so can not his juste judgementes longe delaye to power forthe those horrible vengeances which thy monstrous unthankefulnes hathe long deserved, if thou (as God forbyd) nowe shutt upp thine eares, blynde thine eies, and so harden thy hart, that neither thou wilt heare, see, nor understand the gravitie of thy fall, and that unestimable goodnes of thy God thus lovingly calling thee to thy ancient honours and dignitie againe. I neither dare nor wil cease nowe by my penne (be it never so rude) to crie unto thee that which sometymes, from the mouthe of my Master Christ Jesus, I have pronounced in the hearing of many, That if thou shalt not knowe this merciful visitacion of the Lord thy God, and so prepare thyself with a penitent and thankful hart to receyve, yet while tyme is, his large graces offred, that then thy habitation shall be left desolate; and where thowe hast of long tyme bene the delectable garden, planted by the Lord's hande, thou shalt become a barren wildernes, apt for nothing but to be brent and consumed by fier.

God's mercies once agayne offred to England.

Ezech. 12. Zach. 7.

The warrant of this my proclamation and sentence, (howe folishe and vayne so ever it appere to man's reason,) I have not by conjecture nor opinion of man, but from the mouthe of my God, thus speaking by Moises: "Beware (saith he) that amongst you be not a roote that buddeth forthe gall and wormewood; so that when he shal heare the wordes of this execration, shal yet promesse to himself felicitie in his hart, saying, Peace shalbe to me althogh I walke after the lust of myne owne hart," &c. "The Lord wil not be merciful (saith Moises) to suche a one, but the furie of the Eternal, and his hote displeasure, shal brust forthe against suche a man, and upon him shal lye (that is, continually abyde) all the execrations that be written in this boke: And the Lord shall blott out his name from under the heaven," &c. Thus far speaketh he against particular men; and against the whole multitude he proceadethe in this maner: "The generation followinge, your

Deut. 29.

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sonnes which shal aryse after you, and the stranger that shal come from a far countrie, when they shal see the plagues of this lande, and the incurable diseases by the which it shal languish and consume, as it were by brimstone and salt, burnyng the whole lande; so that it can not be sowne, neither yet in it dothe any herbe springe up nor ryse," &c. "Then shal all nations saye, Why hathe the Lord done thus to this lande? O what is the wrathe of God's great fury? And they shal answer, For because they have lefte the covenant of the Lord, the God of their fathers, which he dyd make with them when he broght them forthe of Egypt: For they have gone and served other gods, (I say,) whome they knew not; and therefore was the furie of the Lord kyndled against this land, so that he broght upon it all the execrations and curses written in this boke. And the Lord, in his wrathe, furie, and great indignation, hathe wrooted them out of their owne lande, and hathe dispersed them in another land, as this day dothe witnes," &c. This same is written, with greater circumstances, in the boke of Leviticus; which place if ye consider with this, and considering God's eternal veritie to have his effect in every age and nation which so dothe offende, then shalt thou see, O England, that this is the judgement which thou shalt not, nor canst not escape, if spedily thou repent not thy shameful defection, and with all humilitie returne to the Lord, whome so traiterously and so publikely of late dayes thou hast refused. For these severe judgementes once executed against Israel and Juda, may be to thee, who once hast professed thyself subject to God, and hast unthankfully departed from his service, and yet of mercie is called againe: to thee (I say) may those severe judgementes be a mirror and glasse, in which thou maist beholde what shal be thy final and miserable destruction, if by unfayned and spedie repentance thou remove not the vengeance which hangethe over thy head. And to the ende that better thou mayest trye and examine thyself, I will shortly touch the stubburne inobedience of that people, the long pacience and

Idolatrie was the cause of those horrible plagues.

Levit. 26.

Jere. 7.

4 King. 23.

Let the juste punishements of other nations move thee, O England, to repentance.

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gentle dealing of God, with their most miserable and lamentable destruction.

In this tyme reigned Rehoboam, Abiah, Joram, and ten others, all idolatrous kings.

Three hundreth years and mo, from the departure of the Ten Tribes from the house and royal seate of David, dyd Juda provoke God to displeasure, nowe by idolatrie, nowe by hill-aulters, nowe by confederacie and joyning of handes with wicked Princes and ungodly nations, by whome they were ever drawne from depending and trusting upon God, to the vayne trust and confidence of men. Against these and other vices from tyme to tyme dyd God send his Prophets to call them to repentance, and did also rayse up some tymes good and godly Kings to make publique reformation as towching the religion. But what reformation was found in lyfe, maners, and conversation; what reverence dyd the multitude beare unto God, how was the religion imbrased in their hartes, and how long was it reteined in suche perfection as was commanded; the Prophetes do teache, and histories beare witnesse and plainly affirme, that even in the dayes of the most godly Kinges, (of Ezechias and Josias, I meane,) the Scribes and Lawiers dyd write deceytfully, to thrust out the weakeons from their cause, to spoyle the wydow, and to oppresse the orphelin. Their Judges were bribers, and their Princes were partakers with theves. They said that evil was good, and good evil; they wolde have pleasing things spoken unto them, and commanded that no mention shulde be made of the Holy One of Israel, for his Word was a burthen unto them. Of the Nobilitie, some were traytours, some avaricious, some unconstant as wavering reedes; some gredy dogges and unsatiable wolves, devoring the praye whersoever they might catche it. The people of the lande were deceitful; all handy-crafts, marchandise, and victayles, were corrupt by their covetous practises. They were ready but to sclander and oppresse the pore, the nedy, and the stranger. The conjuration of Prophetes was in the midst of them, even as a roring lyon, &c. They healed the sores and botches of the people, princes, and governers, with unprofitable plasters,

4 King. 14, 15.
3 King 16.
4 King. 8.
2 Para. 15.
2 Para. 17.
Lawiers. Esai 10.
Judges and Princes.
Esai 1.
Esai 5.
Esai 57.
Jere. 23.
Nobles.
Esai 56.
Commons.

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and laid soft pillows under the heades of such as securely slept in all iniquitie. The Priests had violently rent in sunder the lawe of God; they had prophaned his sanctuary by their owne inventions, and by reteining suche a myxed and invenomed religion, as from olde idolators they had received; and that because it pleased their kinges, chiefe rulers, and governors, it must nedes be good, and please them. They made no difference betwixt that which was holy and cleane (because it proceaded from God) and that which was prophane and filthye, which wicked idolaters had invented and devised. The Pastors, finally, were become dumme dogges; their watchmen were blinde, given to excesse, slowthfulnes, and sleape. And to be short, they came to that corruption, that the Lord dyd seke a man to repaire the hedge agayne, and to stand in the gappe before him, that the land shulde not be wasted, but yet he found none: for all were declined, all soght their own advantage. "No man called for justice and equitie; no man was judged of faithe and veritie. They broght forthe coccatrise egges; their feete ran to mischief; thei made hast to shed innocent blood; they neither knewe, neither yet would knowe, the way of peace." But to suche horrible confusion came all things, that the veritie was banished, and whosoever departed from iniquitie was made as a praye to all men. "Which things when the Lord dyd consider, and dyd see that none wolde set themselves, no man (I saye) that opponed himself to so horrible iniquitie, his owne arme gave him salvation, and his owne justice dyd holde him up,"&c. "He powred forthe (after dyvers plagues) his furie upon that nation at once, and in the hote fyer of his anger dyd he consume them; and so dyd rewarde their wicked wayes upon their owne heades," as before was threatened by the mouthe of Moses.

PROPHETES AND PRIESTES.

The corruption and mixture of Religion.

Ezeck. 8, 9.

Ezeck. 22.

PASTORS.

Ezeck. 22.

Esai 59.

Behold, O England, this universal defection! Compare it with thy former and yet present state, and be warned.

These testimonies, and many mo (which to avoyde prolixitie I omit) we have of the Prophetes, how corrupt was the whole body even in the dayes of the most godly kinges, yea, even in the dayes when the plagues were upon them. And the histo-

Deut. 18.

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ries do witnes, that no soner dyd ever any idolater rise, but that so sone from the highest degre to the lowest, from the Prince to the Prophet, (a meane nombre except,) were all redy to obey whatsoever was commanded by suche as were placed in honors and auctoritie. The historie dothe farther witnes, that the Princes of Juda, after the deathe of Jehoiada, by whose wyfe Joas was preserved in that most cruel murther of all the kingly seade made by Athalia; and by whose most faithful diligence the same Joas was, in the seventhe yeare of his age, made King over Juda. The convenant and leage, before broken by idolatrie, was renued agayne betwixt God and the people, and betwixt the people and the King, to witt, That the one and the other shulde be the people of the Lord; by renuing of which convenant, unhappie and cruel Athalia was killed, the people dyd enter into the house of Baal, brake it downe with his altars and images, even to powder; and finally, before the altars of Baal, dyd most justely kyl Mathan, Baal's great preste: after the deathe (I say) of Jehoiada, by whose godly providence all these thinges were broght to passe, the Princes of Juda came and bowed themselves unto the King, making, no doute, this petition unto him, That they might have the religion which long had bene reteined amongst the Kings of Juda, even from the dayes of Salomon, and that they shulde not be so straytly bonde as the convenant made by Jehoiada commanded, so they wolde not returne (as may appeare they did alledge) to Baal, but stande content with their hyl-altars, their thickets of wood, and ancient idols. And that this was their petition, the historie giveth playne light. For it saith, "And the King hard them; and they, leaving the house of the Lord, the God of their fathers, served thickets and idols." Which thing, albeyt it dyd so displease the Lord that he sent his prophetes sharply to rebuke their unthankful defection, yet was there no redresse. For the King, Princes, and people, were conspired against God, and so from idolatrie proceded to cruel murther, as the histories doth witnes in the dayes of Achas. The same abomina-

Such as the Prince is, such commonly are the people.

2 Para. 24.

4 King. 11.

This had bene thy bounden dutie, O England, in the dayes of that most execrable idolatres, Marie.

Note this practice and the successe thereof.

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tions remayned in all estates. For Urias the High Priest himself, at the commandement of the King, buylded an altar, as the King had sent him a patern from Damascus, and so left the altar of the Lord, and brent sacrifice upon that great altar, &c. 4 King 16.

In the dayes of Ezechias, (that zelous and godly King,) what were the hartes of the nobilitie and people towardes God's true religion, it may appeare by the sequel. For, streght after his death, dothe the whole multitude returne with Manasses unto idolatrie, abominations, and cruel murther; yea, even while the King dyd lyve, that treasonable traytor, Sobna, (ennemie to God, to his true worship, and to his Prophetes,) was treasorer, and in highest auctoritie. Sobna, Treasorer.

Jeremie and Ezechiel do witnes, that the Princes, Prophetes, and people were so corrupt, even to the verie day of the destruction, yea, and after the same, that Zedechias (of nature, by all apparance, not verie cruel, but yet faint-harted for lacke of faith) was compelled at their commandement to put Jeremie in prison, and to gyve them permission to put him to death at their pleasure; whose lyfe by God's mightie providence yet preserved, and being called to the presence of the Kinge, to whome he gave, in God's name, most holsome counsel; yet durst not the King, for feare of his Princes, neither follow the same, neither yet let them understande what communication was betwixt the Prophet and him. Jere. 38.

Ezechiel, in his vision, saw the people and Princes declined from God; and dyd also heare these wordes spoken by God: "The iniquitie of the house of Israel and Juda is great above measure; the earthe is ful of blood, and the citie ful of defection. For they have said, The Lord hathe left the earth, and the Lord seethe us not." Ezech. 8, 9.

After that most miserable destruction of Jerusalem, when a remnant of the poore people and nobilitie (who had escaped the edge of the sword) were left in the lande with the Prophet Jeremie, and with Godolias the sonne of Ahikam, their olde

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Jere. 40. venome of rebellion against God and his reveled wil was nothing purged. For albeyt that the Princes, Johannan the sonne of Carea, and Jezanias the sonne of Hoseas, with the whole people, had promised unto Jeremie, by a solemned othe, to do whatsoever the Lord shulde commaunde unto them by his mouthe; yet when he commaunded them, in the name of the Lord, to abyde in the lande, and not to carie the people to Egypt, they neither feared nor ashamed to say unto him, Jere. 43. "Thou speakest a lye; the Lord hath not sent thee to us, com- Jere. 44. maunding that we shulde not go to Egypt, &c. To Egypt wil we go, and we wil serve the Quene of Heaven, &c., even as our ancient kinges and fathers dyd before us:" and so, in despite of God, of his Prophete, and of his Worde reveled unto them, departed from the lande which the Lord had given to the seade of Abraham, unto Egypt infected withe all idolatrie. And thus, from their original, they continued in rebellion, even to the ende, when they dyd utterly forsake God. For whatsoever they pretended, it was nothing els but a playne denial of God, of his league, and of his convenant, to contract familiaritie, alliance, or peace, agaynst his playne precept with that nation, from whose tyrannie God had before delivered their fathers. And therefore he gave them most strait commandement, that they shulde never returne to that bondage agayne.

How long and how paciently dyd God fight against this their rebellion, is easie to be understand by the histories and Prophets; but how severe, in the ende, were the plagues and juste Behold the frutes of Idolatrie. vengeance powered upon the Kinges, Princes, and people, dyd verie Ethnickes themselves give testimonie and record. Their land and cities were spoyled, burnt, and left desolate; women for hunger compelled to eate their owne children. Oft were they broght in thraldome and subjection of strangers; and 4 King. 6. finally, the glorie of the Lord was removed from his sanctuarie, Ezech. 9. which he himselfe dyd sweare that he woulde prophane by rea- Jere. 39. son of their great abominations. And so he dyd; for it was brent, the vessels and ornaments of it caryed to Babylon; the

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whole Nobilitie of Juda and the Kinges sonnes were kylled in his owne presence; after whiche most miserable sight, his owne eies were put out, he led to Babylon, where he remayned prisoner until his death. Those that departed to Egypt, dyd never returne agayne to Jerusalem, but perished most miserablie, as the Prophet dyd threaten. Jere. 43.

This is the glasse, this is the mirror, O England! in whiche I woulde that dayly thou shuldest behold what shalbe the final end of those that do abuse the long sufferinge of God, most mercifully calling all to repentance. Yf thou shalt thinke thyself pure and cleane from any of the crimes which before is noted in that people, alas! thou shalt declare thyself more then impudent. For, all other your iniquities omitted, this your last and universal turning from God, by the open denyal of his Gospel professed, declareth you, from the highest to the lowest, manifest traytours against his godly Majestie. It is you all together, who most cruelly have shede the blood of a nomber of your brethern and sisters, which, from under the alter, crie to be revenged. There is no person giltles in God's presence, who hathe bowed their knees to idolatrie, (whatsoever excuse they list to pretend,) but as all are idolaters, so are they and shalbe reputed murtherers before God, which do not washe awaye that infamie and innocent blood by unfayned repentance.

A Glasse for England.

Reve. 6.

The Names of so many as could be now gotten, are annexed in the end.

No other assurance will I requyre, that your plagues are at hande, and that your destruction approcheth, then that I shal understand that ye do justifie yourselves in this your former iniquitie. Absolve and flatter you who so list, God the Father, his Sonne Christ Jesus, his holy angels, the creatures sensible and insensible in heaven and earth, shal arise in judgement, and shal condemn you, if in tyme ye repent not. The cause that I wrappe you all in idolatrie, all in murther, and all in one and the same iniquitie, is, That none of you hath done your duetie, none hath remembred his office and charge, whiche was, to have resisted to the uttermost of your powers that im-

The duetie of England when Idolatrie was first erected.

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pietie in the beginning. But ye have all followed the wicked
Oseas 5, 7. commandement, all have consented to cruel murther, in so far as, in your eies, your bretherne have most injustly suffered, and none opened his mouth to complayne of that injurie, crueltie, and murther. I do ever except suche as, either by their deathe, by absteyning from idolatrie, or by avoyding the Realme, for the iniquitie in the same committed, dyd give testimonie, that suche an horrible falling from God dyd inwardly greve them. These I except, but all the rest, even from the highest to the lowest, I feare no more to accuse of idolatrie, of treason against God commited, and of cruel murthering of their brethern, then dyd Zacharias, the sonne of Jehoiada, feare to say to the King, Princes, and people of Juda, "Why
2 Para. 3. have ye transgressed the commaundementes of the Eternal? It shal not prosperously succede unto you, but even as you have left the Lorde, so shal he leave you."

And albeyt my blood shulde be shed for this my affirmation, as his was, yet havyng the testimonie of a good conscience, that I speake not nor write not of private malice against any person, I wil stil crie as before: For at your handes (unles that spedely and unfaynedly ye repent) shal God require all the blood, not onely whiche lately hathe bene shed by your
Math. 23. most wicked permission, but also of all those that for the same cause have suffred from the beginnyng. Tremble, therefore,
By true repentance you shal escape God's vengeance. feare, confesse, and unfaynedly repent, that ye may escape the vengeance prepared. Your humiliation, confession, and repentance, may now obteyne no lesse of God's great mercie, then
4 King. 34. dyd Josias, his nobles, and people, in the same case, to whome in all things you are so like, as one beane is to an other. For no crime is so haynous whiche God will not cast in the bothome of the sea, and bury in perpetual oblivion, if you with unfayned hartes turne to the Lord your God, whome so grevously you have offended. This conversion and repentance requireth, no dout, a reformation, removyng and suppressing of all abuses, all wrong, all violence, all oppression and fraude, how long, is

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whome, and by whome soever they have bene mainteyned, practised, or permitted.

But, remitting all suche thinges as be without the religion to suche as God shall farther move with his Holy Spirit to instruct you, I say that your conversion unto God and unfayned repentance requyreth two thinges. First, That the religion and true honoring of God may be at once broght to that puritie which his Worde requyreth. Secondarely, That order may be taken, so far as in you lyeth, that the same religion which God approvethe, may be kept inviolable amongste you for ever, and that the people universal may be instruct in the same.

Two thinges required in the reformation of religion.

For the First point, touchinge Reformation of religion, you muste at once so purge and expel all dregs of Papistrie, superstition, and idolatrie; that thow, O England! must judge and holde execrable and accursed whatsoever God hath not sanctified unto thee by his Worde, or by the action of our Maister Christ Jesus. The glisteringe beautie of vayne ceremonies, the heaping of thinges perteyning nothinge to edification, by whomesoever they were invented, justified, or mainteyned, ought at once to be removed, and so trodden under the obedience of God's Worde, that continually this sentence of thy God be present in thy hart, and readie in thy mouthe: "Not that which appeareth good in thy eies, shalt thow do to the Lord thy God, but what the Lord thy God hath commaunded thee, that shalt thow do: adde nothing to it, diminishe nothing from it."

Vayne Ceremonies, and such as serve not to edification, ought to be abolished.

Let not the King and his proceadinges (whatsoever they be), not agreable to his Worde, be a snare to thy conscience. O cursed were the hartes that first devised that phrase in matters of religion, wherby the simple people were broght to one of these two inconveniences: to wit, That either they dyd esteme everie religion good and acceptable unto God, which the King and Parliament dyd approve and commande; or els, that God's religion, honor, and service, was nothinge els but devises of men. O England, England! let this blasphemie be first of all

No Prince nor Parlament ought to do anie thinge in matters of Religion without the assurance of God's Worde.

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others removed. For how horrible is it to remember, that the religion and honoring of the Eternal God shalbe subject to the appetites of folishe and inconstant men! Let God's Worde alone be the rule and line to measure his religion. What it commandethe, let that be obeyde; what it commandeth not, let that be execrable, because it hathe not the sanctification of his Worde under what name or title soever it be published.

The voices and counsel of such as are neither hote nor colde.

Halt no longer on bothe partes; let not these voices prevayle in your Parlament: This to our judgement is good and godly; this the people can wel beare; this repugnethe not to God's worde; and when the people be better instructed, then may we procede farther, &c.

O dissembling hypocrites! playne messengers of Sathan, now I do write, which some tyme I have said to your faces, that whatsoever God (in matters of his religion) hathe not sanctified by his expressed Worde, the same, I say, before his Majestie remaynethe execrable, polluted, and defyled. And so, in fewe wordes, this is the first point which your true conversion requireth, to wit, That his onely Worde reforme his religion.

The inviolable preservation of God's religion (whiche is the Second point) requireth two principall thinges: the one, That power nor libertie be permitted to any, of what estate, degre, or autoritie that ever they be, either to lyve without the yoke of discipline by God's Worde commaunded; either yet to alter, to chaunge, to disanull, or dissolve the least one jott in religion, which from God's mouthe thow hast receyved. But let his holy and blessed ordinaunces, by Christ Jesus to his Church commaunded, be within thy limittes and bondes so sure and established, that if Prince, King, or Emperour would enterprice to change or disanul the same, that he be of thee reputed ennemie to God; and therfore unworthie to reigne above his people: yea, that the same man or men, that go aboute to destroy God's true religion once established, and to erect idolatrie, which God detesteth, be adjudged to death, according to God's commaundement; the negligence of which parte hathe made

None ought to be freed from the yoke of discipline, nor permitted to decline from the religion of God.

None compellinge God's people to Idolatrie ought to be permitted to reigne over them.

Deut 13.

Idolaters ought to be put to death.

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yow all (those onely excepted whome before I have exprest) murtherers of your brethern, deniers of Christ Jesus, and manifest traytours to God's Soveraigne Majestie.

Which horrible crimes, if ye will avoyde in tyme cominge, then must ye (I meane the princes, rulers, and people of England) by solemned othe renue the convenant betwixt God and you, in the same forme as Asa, King of Juda, dyd in the like case. "They made a convenant (saieth the historie) that they wolde seke the Lord God of their fathers, with all their hart and with all their soule; and that whosoever shulde not seke the Lord God of Israel, he shulde die the death, whether he were great or small, man or woman. And they dyd sweare unto the Lord with a great othe, and with the sounde of trumpet and of shaumes:[1] And of this othe dyd all the Jewes rejoyse: for with their whole hart they dyd sweare, and they soght God with unfayned affection, and he was founde of them: and the Lord gave them rest on every side." This is thy duetie, and this is the onely remedy, O England! to stay God's vengeance which longe thou hast deserved, and shalt not long escape, if his religion and honor be subject to mutation and change as oft as thy rulers list, or as by reason of death they shalbe changed. And so this briefly is the first thing which thou must, with invocation of God's name, provide for Establishinge of his true religion.

2 Para. 15.

The Lord is found of all them that unfaynedly seeke him.

The other part, touching the Instruction of the people, standeth muche in the faithful diligence of those to whome the charge of preaching shalbe committed. But when I remembre that horrible confusion which before was mainteined, even by those which wolde be estemed chief pillers of religion, I do more feare to be playne in this matter then in all that which before I have spoken. For it may be, that in speaking the simple trueth, I may displease those whome willingly for no earthly profit I wold offende. Nevertheless, seing the cause is not myne, but perteyneth to Christ Jesus, and to the feeding

[1] Shaumes, Cornets.

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John 21. of that flocke which so earnestly and tenderly he dyd commend to Peter, and to all his faithful pastors to the worldes end, whatsoever man shal judge, I dare not cease, in God's name, Esai 56. to require of you a severe Reformation of those thinges which were before utterly disordered.

No dumm dogg nor poisoned Papiste ought to have any charge of Christ's flock. And First, In the name of the Lorde Jesus, I require of you, that no dumme dogg, no poisoned and pestilent Papist, none who before hath persecuted God's children, or obstinately mainteined idolatrie, be placed above the people of God, to infect and poison (for other profet they shal do none) the soules of those whome Christ Jesus hathe redemed with his pretious blood.

Secondly, That benefice upon benefice be heaped upon no man, but that a sufficient charge, with a competent stipend, be Plurallitie of benefices reproved. assigned to the workeman. For, O! how horrible was that confusion, that one man shulde be permitted to have 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, or 7 benefices, who skarsely in the yeare dyd so often preache! yea, that a man shulde have the charge of them whose faces he never saw. Let that pestilence, proceading from avarice, be utterly avoyded. Let not men, at their pleasures, preach when and where they list; but so sone as a godly Order may be established, let the partes and bondes be assigned to every one. London. London, in tymes past, was indifferently provided for; but, alas! what barbarous ignorance was in the rest of the Realme?

Thirdly, Let no man be charged, in preaching of Christ Jesus, above that which one man may do; I mean that your bishoprikes be so devided, that of every one as they be nowe (for the most part) be made ten; and so in every citie and great towne there may be placed a godly learned man, with so many joyned with him, for preaching and instruction, as shalbe thoght sufficient for the bondes[1] committed to their charge. The utilitie whereof you shal understand, within few yeares, greatly to re-
The great dominions and charge of prowde Prelates is the invention of Antichrist. dounde to the profit of the simple flocke. For your prowde prelates great dominions and charge (impossible by one man to be discharged) are no parte of Christ's ministerie, but are

[1] Bondes, bounds.

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the maintenance of the tyrannie first invented, and yet reteyned by the Roman Antichrist.

Fourthly, That diligent hede be taken, that such to whome the office of preaching is committed, discharge and do their dueties; for it is not, nor wil not be, the chanting or mumbling over of certeyne Psalms, the reading of chapiters for Mattens and Even-song, or of Homelies onely, be they never so godly, that fede the soules of the hungrie shepe. Christ Jesus himself, his holy Apostles, and that elected vessel, Paul, do teach us another lesson, all commanding us to preach, to preach, and that to preach Christ Jesus crucified, &c. What efficacie hath the lyvinge voice above the bare letter red, the hungry and thirstie do feele to their comfort. But the other maketh for Master Parson's purpose, who reteining in his handes a nombre of benefices, appointeth suche in his place as are altogether destitute of the gifte of preaching. But let all suche belly-gods be whypt out of God's holy temple.

The office of true Ministers.

Philip. 3.

Fiftely, Let none that be appointed to labour in Christes vineyearde be entangled with Civil affaires, (and, as ye call them, the affaires of the Realme,) except it be when the civil magistrate and ministers of the Worde assemble together, for execution of discipline, which is a thing easie to be done, without withdrawing any person from his charge, if that which is before expressed be observed. For, as touching their yearly commynge to the Parlament, for matters of religion, it shalbe superfluous and vaine; yf God's true religion be so once established, that after it be never called in controversie.

Matt. 20.

The Ministers of the Worde ought not to exercise any Civil office, or to be intangled with the affaires of the Realme.

And as touching execution of Discipline, that must be done in everie citie and shire where the magistrates and ministers are joyned together, without any respect of persons; so that the ministers, albeit they lack the glorious titles of Lordes, and the develish pompe which before appeared in proude Prelates, yet must they be so stowte, and so bolde in God's cause, that yf the King himself wolde usurpe any other autoritie in God's religion, then becometh a membre of Christ's body, that first he

Discipline must be executed without respect of persons.

The Ministers must be stowt and bolde in God's cause, albeit they want the glorious and vayne titles of Lordes.

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be admonished according to God's Worde; and after, yf he contemne the same, be subject to the yoke of discipline, to whome they shal boldly saye, as Asarias the highe preste sayd to Usaias, the King of Juda, "It is not lawful for thee, O Usaias, to offer incense, but it apperteyneth to the priestes, the sonnes of Aharon, who are consecrated, to burne it. Passe out, therfore, for thou hast offended; which thing shal not redounde to thy glorie," &c. This is the duetie (I say) of all Christes faithful ministers, whensoever any man, be he Kinge or Emperour, usurpeth to himself autoritie against God, to rebuke him openly, to resiste and gainstande him to the uttermost of their power, whome the Lord, by the Spirite of his mouthe and power of his Worde, shal confounde, even as he dyd the pride of Usaias, yf they be strong and valiant in God's cause.

2 Par. 26.

4 King. 26.

Scholes to be universallie erected.

Now, last, (omitting things of no lesse importance to your Wisdomes,) for the preservation of religion, it is most expedient, That Scholes be universally erected in all cities and chief townes, the oversight whereof to be committed to the magistrates and godly learned men of the said cities and townes; that of the youth godly instructed amongst them, a seade may be reserved and continued, for the profet of Christes Church in all ages.

An Answer to two Objections.

It remayneth briefly to answer to two things, which may give you occasion to faint in this the Lordes worke. First, The lacke of workemen to put things in such order as is requisite. And Secondly, The feare of tumult and sedition within yourselves, or invasion of forren nations. In God's name, I feare not to affirme, that neither the one nor the other shal hurt you in the end, yf you, with your whole hartes, seke God's glory to be promoted, and all sortes of abominations to be rooted owte.

For yf you pray with earnest affection, he shal indue suche as ye know not, with wisdome and knowledge to rule in his Church, to the comfort of his flocke. There be mo laborers then the eies of man seeth, that profitably wolde worke in the

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Lordes harvest. And as for feare of ennemies, they may with Choron, Dathan, and Abiron, conspire against Moises and Aron; with the Moabites and Ammonites against Josaphat; or with proude Sinnacherib against Ezechias and afflicted Zion: but rather, ere thou shalt be confounded, yf with a perfite hart thou seke the Lord thy God, rather (I say) shal the earth open and devoure such rebels; rather shal thine ennemies every one murther other; and, rather shal the Angels of the Lord fight for thy deliverance, or the worke be hindered, and perishe in thy handes.

Num. 16. 2 Para. 20. 2 Para. 32. Num. 16. 4 Kin. 20 2 Par. 32.

But yf thou, O England! for any respect delay thy repentance and conversion unto God; yf thou shalt stil foster in thy bosome the generation of vipers; yf thou shalt reteine in honour and auctoritie suche as have declared themselves ennemies to God and to his eternal trueth, not by any infirmitie, but of determined malice and set purpose, to murther and destroy God's chosen children; yf, finally, thou shalt not study to wroote out and cut of such rotten members, as can do nothing but infect the whole body; "then call I to witnes against thee both heaven and earth," that I and others, the servantes of God, who faithfully, and in tyme, have warned thee of thy duetie, and vengeance to come, are and shalbe cleane from thy blood which shortly shal perishe, yf thou contemne the admonitions of God's messingers. Too late it shalbe for thee to howle and crie, when the flame of God's hote displeasure shal begyn to burne. It wil not then be the flattering intisementes and vayne policies of suche as seke more themselves then Christ's glorie that wil extinguishe it. No, it shal burne and shal destroy the head and the tayle, the Prince and the false Prophet, the roote and the branches of such impietie. Be warned, therefore, yf thou list escape vengeance, which is already prepared for the inobedient!

Deut. 4.

Be warned, O England! yf thou wilt escape God's vengeance.

But, O you that in sorrow of hart see these abominations, that lament, and do not pollute yourselves with them; let your hartes rest upon the Eternal, who shalbe to you a rocke, and

Such as unfaynedly feare the Lord, shal finde comfort in their greatest daunger.

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a strong castle of defence. And then, "Althogh the heaven and the earth shulde be confounded, yet shal his mercie deliver you from danger;" and in verie experience and joy of hart ye shal sing, "O Lord, thou art our God, we shal exalt and confesse thy name, for thou hast done wonderous thinges. Thy counsels are profounde, far off to man's judgement; but yet are they true and sure. The strong tentes and the palaces of the proude hast thou broght to ruine, so that they shal never be restored again; and therfore the strong people shal glorifie thee; yea, the cities of tyrannous nations shal feare thee," &c. "Behold, this is our God whome we have abidden, he hathe saved us. This is the Lord, whome we looked for, we shal rejoyce and be joyful in his salvation," &c. This, I say, shalbe the song which, in experience of the Lordes deliverance, your hartes shal sing, even when God's most severe judgementes shal, in your eies, be executed against the ungodly; and therfore call thou for strongth to continue to the ende.

Exod 28.

A PRAYER.

GOD the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the power of his Holy Spirit so illuminate and so move your hartes, that clearly ye may see, and perfitly understand, how horrible hathe bene your fall from his veritie; how fearful and terrible it is to fall into his handes without hope of mercie; and what is that his unspeakeable mercie which yet againe he offreth unto you; and that it may please his Eternal goodnes to indue you with such wisdome, prudence, and fortitude, that seing his good pleasur in his Worde reveled, without all feare ye may follow the same, to the advancement of his glorie, to the consolation of his afflicted Church, and to your everlasting comfort, through our onely Mediator, Redeemer, Peacemaker, and Lawgever, Christ Jesus our Lord, whose Holy Spirit rule your hartes in his true feare. So be it.

From Geneva, the 12. of Januarie M.D.LIX.

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THE NAMES OF THE MARTYRS.

THE NAMES OF SOME PART OF THOSE MOST FAITHFUL SERVANTES AND DEARE CHILDREN OF GOD, WHICH LATELY IN THEE, AND BY THEE, O ENGLAND! HAVE BENE MOST CRUELLY MURTHERED BY FYER AND IMPRISONMENT, FOR THE TESTIMONIE OF CHRIST JESUS AND HIS ETERNAL VERITIE: WHOSE BLOOD, FROM UNDER THE AULTER, CRIETH LOWDE TO BE AVENGED ON THEM THAT DWEL UPON THE EARTH, AS BEFORE IS MENTIONED; BESIDES A GREAT NOMBRE OF GOD'S CHILDREN WHO, UNDER THE PRETENCE OF TREASON, SUFFERED FOR CHRIST'S RELIGION. Revel. 6.

THE YERE M.D.LIIII.

1554. *At London.*

John Rogers, preacher.

The 4. of Februarie. *At Coventrie.*

Laurence Saunders, preacher.

At Hadlay.

Roland Taylor,[1] preacher.

At Glocester.

„ 9. John Hooper, late Bishop of Glocester.

At Carmarden.

„ 22. Robert Ferror,[2] Bishop of S. Davids.

At London.

Marche the 5. Thomas Tomkins, weaver.

At Burndwood.[3]

„ 15. William Hunter, prentis.[4]

[1] Dr Rowland Taylor.
[2] Dr Robert Ferrar.
[3] Brentwood.
[4] Apprentice.

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1554. *At Horndon on the Hil.*

Marche 25. Thomas Higby,[1] gentleman.

At Rayley.[2]

„ 25. Thomas Causson,[3] gentleman.

THE YEARE 1555.

1555. *At Braintrie.*

Marche 27. William Pigut,[4] weaver

At Maulden.

„ 28. Stephan Knight, butcher.

At Dauberie.

„ 28. William Dighel.

At Colchester.

„ 28. John Laurence, preacher.

April 2. John Alcock, died in Newgate prison.

At Westminster.

„ 24. William Flower, *alias* Branche, whose hand was first cut off, for striking a preste in his zele, being at masse.

At Westchester.[5]

George Marche,[6] preacher.

At London.

May 31. John Cardemaker.[7]

„ 31. John Waren,[8] upholster.

At London.

June 4. William Tooly,[9] serving-man, was hanged, buried, and then taken up and burnt, because at his death he praied thus: "From the tyrannie of the Bishop of Rome," requiring the people to say with him, "Good Lord deliver us."

[1] Higbed. [2] Raleigh, in the county of Essex. [3] Causton.
[4] Pygot. [5] Chester. [6] Marsh.
[7] Sir John Taylor, *alias* Cardmaker. [8] Warne. [9] John Tooley.

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1555. *At Chelmisford.*

June 10. Thomas Wats, lynen draper

At Cockshall.

„ 11. Thomas Wawkes.[1]

At Ratcheford.

John Symson, weaver.

At Railey.

John Erdley.[2]

Nicolas Chamberlayn.

At Manyngtrie.

Thomas Osmunde.

At Harwitch.

„ 12. William Butler.[3]

At London.

Julie 1. John Bradforde, preacher.

John Liefe, prentis.

„ 2. William Ming, minister, died in Maidestone prison.

At Cantorbery, in one fier.

„ 12. John Bland, minister.

John Franks,[4] minister.

Nicholas Sheterden.

Humfrey Middleton.

At Dartforde.

John Wade.[5]

At Lewes.

Dirick Harman.[6]

At Stevenyng.

John Lauder.[7]

At Chichester.

Thomas Everson.

Richard Hooke, a lame man.

Haukes. [1] Ardeley, at Raleigh. [2] Bamford, *alias* Butler,
[4] Frankesh. [5] Christopher Wade.
[6] Dirick Carver, beer-brewer. [7] Launder.

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1555. *At Rochester.*

Nicholas Hall.

At Tunbridge.

Joan Polley.[1]

At Reading.

Julie 30. William Ailewarde[2] died in prison.

At Sainct Edmonds Bury.

August 2. James Abs.[3]

At Uxbridge.

John Denleye, gentilman.

At Stratforde Bowe.

Warens,[4] widowe.

At Cantorburye.

„ 23. William Cocker, gentilman.

Richard Collier.

Henrie Laurence.

William Hopper.

William Stere.

Richard Wright.

At Taunton.

„ 24. Roger Corier.

At Sainct Albons.

„ 26. George Tankerfelde.

William Baumeford.

At Uxbridge.

Patrick Patingham.[5]

At Stanes.

Robert Smith.

At Stratford.

„ 30. Steven Harwood.

At Ware.

Thomas Fusse.[6]

At Saffron Walden.

„ 31. John Neweman.

[1] Margery Polley. [2] Aleworth. [3] Abbes.
[4] Elizabeth Warne. [5] Packingham. [6] Fust.

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1555. *At Barnes.*

William Hailes.[1]

At Ipswitch.

September 2. Robert Samuel.

At Walsingham.

„ 3. William Alyn.[2]

At Chelford.

Thomas Cobbe.

At Texford.

Thomas Coe.[3]

At Cantorberie.

„ 6. George Brodbridge.
James Tuttye.
George Catmer.
Robert Streter.
Antonie Burward.

At London.

„ 11. John Liefe died in Newgate prison.

At Litchfeld.

Thomas Haywarde.
Thomas Gorway.[4]

Tyngle died in Newgate prison.
Richard Smith died in Lowler's[5] tower, and was buried in the fields.

In Lower's[6] Tower.

Died, George Bing.
William Androwes.

At Coventrie.

„ 19. Robert Gloover, gentleman.
Cornelius Bungaye.

At Ely.

William Wolsey, weaver.

[1] William Hale, at Barnet. [2] Allen. [3] Roger Coo.
[4] John Goreway. [5] The Lollard's. [6] The Lollard's

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1555. Robert Pigot, painter.

At Oxford.

October 4. Nicolas Ridley, Bishope of London.
Hugh Latymer, before Bishope of Worcester.

At Cantorberie.

„ 16. John Web, gentleman.

At Cantorbury.

„ 31. George Roper.
Gregorie Painter.[1]

At Colchester.

December 7. James Gorie[2] died in prison.

At London.

„ 14. William Wiseman died in Loler's[3] Tower, and was cast into the fields, and commandement given that he shulde not be buried; but in the night godlie men buried him.

In London.

„ 18. John Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester.
Thomas Whitwel,[4] minister.

Januarie 27. Bartlet Greene, gentilman.
Thomas Browne.
John Tutson.[5]
John Went.
Agnes Foster.[6]
Joan Lasheford.[7]

At Cantorburie.

„ 31. John Lowmas.
Anne Albright.
Joan Soalle.
Joan Painter.[8]
Agnes Snode.[9]

[1] Gregorie Parke. [2] Gore. [3] The Lollard's. [4] Whittle.
[5] Tudson. [6] Isabel Foster. [7] Joan Warne, otherwise Lushford.
[8] Joan, wife of George Catmer. [9] Snoth.

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1555. *At Ipsewytche.*

Februarie 19. Anne[1] Potten,
Michael's wife.[2]

At Oxforde.

Marche 21. Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Cantorbury, whose worthie workes do yet remaine.

At Salisburie.

„ 24. [John] Spicer.
[John] Maundrell.
[William] Coberley, a taylor.

THE YEARE 1556.

1856. *At Cambridge.*

April 2. John Hollyarde,[3] minister.

At Rochester.

Hirtpoole.[4]
Beches, widowe.[5]

At London.

„ 10. William Tymmes, minister.
Robert Drakes, *alias* Gyen, minister.
George Ambrose.
John Cavel.
Thomas Spurge.
Richarde Spurge.

At Colchester.

„ 28. Christopher Lyster, minister.
John Mase.[6]
Richard Nicholl.[7]
John Spencer.
John Hamon.[8]
Simon Joyne.

[1] Agnes Potten. [2] Joan, wife of Michael Tranchfield. [3] John Hullier. [4] John Harpol. [5] Joan Beach: Foxe mentions these two as having been condemned in July 1555. [6] Mace. [7] Nichols. [8] Hamond.

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1556. *At Glocester.*

Maie 5. Thomas,[1] a blynde boye.
[Thomas] Croker.

At London.

„ 13. Margaret Eliot, mayden, condemned, died in Newgat, and was buried in the fieldes.

At Stratfordebowe.

15. John Uprise,[2] a blynde man.
Hugh Laverok, a lame man.

In London.

„ 16. Katharin Hut, widow.
Joan Horne,[3] mayden.
Elizabeth Thacvel.

At Beckels in Suffolke.

„ 21. Three women.[4]

In the Kinges Benche.

„ 21. William Leach[5] died, and was buried on the backside.

At Lewes.

June 6. Thomas Harland.
John Asewarde.[6]
Thomas Rede.
Thomas Abington.
Thomas Hoode,[7] minister.

„ 20. Thomas Mylles.

In the Kinges Benche.

„ 23. William Adheral, minister, died, and was buried on the backside.

„ 25. John Clement, whilewright, died in the Kingesbenche, buried on the backside.

At Lecester.

A marchantes servant.[8]

[1] Thomas Drowry. [2] Apprice. [3] Horne. [4] According to Foxe, vol. viii. p. 145, three men, Thomas Spicer, John Denny, and Edmund Poole. [5] William Sleeh. [6] John Oswald. [7] Whood. [8] A young man.

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1556 *At Stratford Bowe.*

June 26. Henrie Adlington.
Rodulphe Jacson.
William Holiwell.[1]
Thomas Bower.[2]
Laurence Parmen.[3]
Lyon a Coyxe.[4]
Henrie Wie.
John Dorefall.[5]
John Rothe.[6]
Edmonde Hurst.
George Searles.
Elizabeth Peper.[7]
Agnes George.

In the Kings Benche.

„ 27. Thomas Paret and Martin Hunt died, and were buried on the backside.

At Edmondes Burye.

„ 30. Thrie persons.[8]

In the Kinges Benche.

Julie 1. John Carels,[9] weaver, died, and was buried on the backside.

At Nuberie.[10]

„ 16. John Guyne, showmaker.[11]
[Thomas] Asken.
Julius Palmer.

At Grenested.[12]

„ 18. Thomas Dingat.
John Forman.
Mother Trie.

At Darbie.

August 1. A blynde woman.[13]

[1] Hallywel. [2] Bowyer. [3] Parman. [4] Lyon Cawch. [5] Derifall. [6] Routh. [7] Pepper. [8] Roger Bernard, Adam Foster, and Robert Lawson. [9] John Careless. [10] Newbury. [11] Gwyn, shoemaker [12] Grinstead in Sussex. [13] Joan Waste.

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1556. *At Mayfield.*

September 24. John Hart.
Thomas Ravensdalle.
A showmaker, [shoemaker.]
A corier, [currier.]
Nicolas Holden, weaver.

At Bristow.

A yong man, a gloover.

At Newent.

John Horne.

At Wutton-Underhedge, in Glostershier.

A woman.

In Canterburie Castel.

Died, John Clarcke.
Dunstone Chittenden.
[John] Archer.
Polkin's wyfe.[1]
William Foster.

At Northampton.

October 18. A showmaker.
Thre died in Canterburie castle, and were buried in the fieldes.[2]

At Cantorberie.

Januarie 22. Thomas Fynall.
[William] Foster.
[Nicholas] Fynall's servant,
And 3 mo.

At Ashford.

Two.[3]

At Wie.

„ 25. Two.[4]

[1] Alice Potkins. [2] See Foxe, vol. viii. p. 253. [3] Nicholas Fynall and Matthew Bradbridge. [4] Thomas Stephens and John Philpot.

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THE YEARE 1557.

1557. *In London.*

April 12. Thomas Lothsbie.[1]
Henrie Ramsey.
Thomas Sturley.[2]
Stanlei's wyfe.[3]
Hyde's wyfe.[4]

In Sainct George fieldes

Maie 29. Stephan Gratwicke.
William Morrant.
Thomas King.

At Maidstone.

June 6. Joan Bradbridge.
Applebie, waever's wyfe.[5]
Alyn's wyfe.
Maning's wyfe.[7]
Elizabeth, a blind mayde.

At Brystowe.

Ane.

At Cantorberie.

„ 19. John Fyshcocke.
Nicolas White.
Nicolas Perdier.[8]
Barbara Finall, wydow.
Bradbridge's wydow.
Alice Benden's wyfe.[9]
Wylson's wyfe.

At Lewes.

„ 22. Richard Woodman.
George Steuhen.[10]
Margerie Morris.

[1] Loseby. [2] Thirtel. [3] Agnes Stanley. [4] Margaret Hide. [5] Walter Appleby, and Petronil his wife. [6] Edmund Allin, and Katherine his wife. [7] John Manning's wife. [8] Pardue. [9] Alice Benden, wife of Edward Benden. [10] Stevens.

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1557. James Morris, hyr sonne.
Dionyse Burges.
William Mainerd.
Alexander Horsmare's servant.[1]
Thomasin Atwoods,[2] mayden.
Ashdoune's wyfe
Grove's wyfe.

In Maydstone Prison.

Died one Ambrose.

At Norwitche.

Julie 12. Simon Miller, yeoman,
And a woman.[3]

At Colchester in the Fornoons.

August 2. Alice Sylversed.[4]
Vine's wyff.[5]
Elizabeth Fookes,
With 3 mo.[7]
There in the Afternoone,
4 mo.[8]

At Colchester.

„ 5. Thurstone's wyfe.[9]
Bowmer's wyfe.[10]

At Rochester.

„ 20. Robert Frier, an aged man.
A man.
A woman

At Norwitch.

„ 23. A woman.[11]

At Lytchefeild.

Septembre 10. Joice Lewes.

At Islington.

„ 17. Rauffe Allerton.

[1] Alexander Hosman, Mainard's servant. [2] Thomasin à Wood.
[3] Elizabeth Cooper. [4] Agnes Silverside, *alias* Smith. [5] Helen Ewring, wife of John Ewring. [6] Folkes. [7, 8] See Foxe, vol. viii. p. 386–393.
[9] Margaret Thurston. [10] Agnes Bongeor. [11] Cicely Ormes.

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1557. James Ansco.[1]
Margerie,[2] his wyfe.
Richard Rothe.

In London.

Novembre 13. John Holingdaie,[3] carpenter.
[William] Sparrow.
Richard Gybson, gentilman.

In London.

Decembre 22. John Roughe, preacher to the congregation in London.
Margeret James.

In London.

Februarie 27. Cutbert Symson, one of the Deacons fyrst chosen in the congregation in London.
John Devenysh, wool wynder.
Hughe Foxe, hosier.

[THE YEARE 1558.]

1558. *At Huntington.*

March. Lawton.

April 15. John Mainerd died in Newgate, and was buried in the fieldes.

At Colchester.

Maie 26. John Harrison.[5]
[Richard] Daie.
Agnes George.[6]

At Norwitch.

June. Three.[7]

Died in Newgate, and was buried in the field.

Thomas Tyler.[8]
Mathew Wethers.[9]

[1] Austoo. [2] Margerie Austoo. [3] Hallingdale. [4] Margaret, wife of James Mearing. [5] William Harris. [6] Christian George.
[7] These were, William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudson.
[8] Taylor. [9] Wythers.

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1558. *In London.*

June 27. Henrie Pond.
Mathew Rycarbie.
John Holydaie.
John Flonde.[1]
Raynold Lovender.[2]
Roger Holland.
Thomas Sowtham.[3]

At Brainford.[4]

Julie 13. John Slade,
And 5 more.[5]

At Wynchester.

„ 29. Bainbrigge,[6] gentleman.

[1] Floyd. [2] Reinald Eastland. [3] Robert Southam. [4] Brentford.
[5] Robert Mills, Stephen Cotton, Robert Dymes, Stephen Wight, and William Pikas, or Pikes. [6] Thomas Benbridge.

TO THE READER.

YF the Examinations and injuste Accusations of these our deare Brethern, with the Names of their wicked accusers, false judges, and cruel tormenters, had bene sent unto us, as these fewe Names were, we woulde most gladly have done our diligence, that the wonderful constancie of the one, and the great rage and crueltie of the other shoulde have bene witnessed unto the world; which thing, nevertheles, we mynde hereafter more largely to performe, to the glorie of God, to the comfort of his Church, and to the perpetuall confusion of those murtherers and members of Satan, whome the Lord shall confounde by the glorious coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

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